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The Shape of Things

HEAVY LOSS OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN lives at Salerno and the steady retreat of the Reichswehr in Russia should serve to impose a moratorium on agitation for a "real second front." It is not the slightest reflection on the prowess of the magnificent Red Army to attribute partial responsibility for the westward flight of the Nazis to Allied activities elsewhere in Europe. Unofficial Russian claims that not a German division has been drained away from the eastern front by the Sicilian and Italian campaigns obviously cannot be checked from here, though it is apparent that the German high command has been pouring reinforcements into Italy at a totally unexpected rate. But even if the Russian assertion is perfectly correct, it is undeniable that pressure on the Balkans and southern France resulting from the Italian invasion, plus the ever-present threat of invasion across the Channel, has pinned down more than fifty divisions which the Nazis might well have used to stem the tide in Russia, or at least to assure themselves an impregnable defense line at the Dnieper. As it is, if the autumn rains hold off long enough, the Germans may fail even at the Dnieper and be driven back all the way to the old Polish border. In that happy event the Western allies will be entitled to some share of the credit, just as the Russians rightly claim some of the honors for the successful penetration of Italy.

*

IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SPOILS OF war, the Italian campaign so far has favored the Allies by a substantial margin: we have 108 units of the Italian navy and the Germans have Mussolini. At least they say they have Mussolini. Naval analysts agree that the Italian ships will not be usable for a long while to come, but it is doubtful whether the Germans will ever be able to recondition Il Duce. The wild and divergent tales of how the discarded dictator was rescued by Nazi paratroopers, coupled with doubts in reliable quarters as to the authenticity of the radio voice purporting to be Mussolini's, inevitably raise some interesting questions: Did the Nazis really get their man, or is the whole story an emanation from the Minister of Public Enlightenment? If the paratroopers did in fact get to him, did they bring him back alive, or was he first shot by his

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Italian guards, as reported from Madrid? And if he was spirited away physically intact, is he perhaps in too gibbering a state to send his voice out over the air waves? On our side of the battle lines the equally interesting question arises of why the immediate delivery of Mussolini was not made one of the terms of the armistice. We enjoy the inanity of the German radio reports of how "the whole Japanese nation was overwhelmed with joy" over the rescue and "all Norway under its spell"; but all the same we don't relish the escape of the first of those war criminals whose punishment is a pledge of honor to their victims.

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IN THE HEARINGS ON THE WHEELER BILL the top-ranking military and naval authorities of the country have presented an impressive array of evidence to substantiate the case for drafting pre-Pearl Harbor fathers this year. Admiral Jacobs, personnel chief of the navy, pointed out that the navy will require approximately 500,000 men by the end of December if the ships and aircraft now under construction are to be manned. Lieutenant General McNarney, deputy chief of staff of the army, declared that "if we don't get the men we cannot meet the planned target dates, and every single day we delay means an enormous loss of men and money . . . a shift of commitments would affect the whole global strategy of the war." The head of Selective Service, General Hershey, estimated that only 775,000 of the 1,221,000 men before the end of the year could be obtained from the existing reservoir of 1-a's, the new eighteen-year-olds, and reclassified 2-a's, 2-b's, and 4-f's. Under Secretary Patterson asserted that if fathers were not called at this time, 446,000 men would have to be taken out of vital war industries, where production schedules are even now not being met. The War Manpower Commission estimates that 2,000,000 more workers will be required in these industries by the end of the year if our troops are to have the weapons they need. Only two possible answers to the problem have been suggested—the existing work-or-fight order as it applies to fathers, or national-service legislation. Congress will have to make up its mind which course to follow.

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WE WISH THE PRESIDENT IN HIS MESSAGE to Congress had said what Henry Wallace did at Chicago, "We must fight not merely to make the world safe for democracy but to give democracy first place in the world." We see no sign as yet that the President and his advisers on foreign policy are determined to give democracy "first place" in the world, much less attack the basic economic evils which Wallace boldly enumerated as the enemies of democracy. The Vice President's attack on cartels found new and unexpected emphasis in the fact that most newspapers, led by the New York *Times*, omitted from the text of his remarks those sentences which were aimed at the Standard Oil-I.G. Farben cartel. Readers of those papers must have been confused when they came across long statements by Standard Oil answering charges only sketchily reported, if at all, in the same columns. No one familiar with the facts will be taken in by the pious opposition to cartels now expressed by Ralph W. Gallagher, president of Standard Oil. Only a few months ago he successfully opposed passage of a minority stockholders' resolution which would have pledged the company not to resume its cartel relations with I.G. Farben after the war. The Nazis may be doomed but Standard expects to go on doing business with these I.G. gentlemen who supported Hitler's bid for power at home and abroad.

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THE CRUDE AND COWARDLY DEVICE BY which the house barred Robert Morss Lovett, William E. Dodd, Jr., and Goodwin B. Watson from office, as of November 15, was a perfect example of the way in which that body allows such penny-dreadful demagogues as Martin Dies to lead it by the nose. It fired the three officials in a rider attached to a deficiency bill which neither the Senate nor the President was in a position, at that moment, to oppose or veto; and the basis for its action was the usual vague charge that the men under attack are "radicals." We are glad the President has served notice that he does not intend to let Congress have its irresponsible way. He proposes to ignore the rider on the ground that it is "an unwarranted encroachment upon the authority of both the executive and the judicial branches under our Constitution" and is not binding upon them. As for the officials concerned, they will go right on working after November 15. Martin Dies has accused the President of seeking support of "the left group" by his defense of three officials against a vindictive and strictly dishonorable attack. In the course of his statement he accused Messrs. Lovett, Dodd, and Watson of not believing in our form of government. It is Mr. Dies, as we have intimated before, to whom that characterization most accurately applies.

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INSECTS ARE NOTED FOR THEIR PERSISTENCY but even the ants could learn something from the fourth-termites among the Republicans in Congress. To the average citizen it must have seemed that the President of a nation engaged in the most desperate struggle in its history was only fulfilling his obvious duty when, on the reassembling of Congress, he delivered a comprehensive report on his Administration's conduct of that war. But when an inquiring reporter asked Senator Aiken of Vermont for comment, he said he couldn't understand the purpose of the message unless it was to provide material for the next election—and he made particular reference to the President's suggestion that something be done

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to protect the future of the men now serving in the armed forces. Senator Taft and Senator Styles Bridges also saw in the President's report on World War II only another campaign document. The inquiring reporter went on to ask other newly returned legislators what the folks back home think about things, including Congress. "One Representative," according to this report, "said he had discovered that 'the old American custom of criticizing Congress has changed, and the law-making body is held in high public esteem.'" We reserve comment, lest we be accused of malice in wonderland.

*

THE ARREST OF A SMALL-TIME BOOTLEGGER serves as a reminder that Carlo Tresca was shot to death on a New York street corner eight months ago and that his murder remains an unsolved crime. With the detention of the bootlegger, one Frank Nuccio, as a material witness, the authorities will perhaps show signs of cracking a case which in the eyes of laymen has been unaccountably slow in yielding results. It is not as though the circumstances of Tresca's assassination were barren of clues. The victim was known throughout the world as an anti-fascist leader. In private conversation, in public speeches, and in the columns of his own paper he often identified his political enemies, some of whom, he had asserted, entertained against him the most violent of intentions. More concretely, the police immediately discovered a car presumably abandoned by the killers a few blocks from the scene of the murder. Within twenty-four hours they arrested a paroled convict who had been seen driving a car with the same license plate less than two hours before the crime. They have been holding him ever since, technically for a violation of parole. With all these seeming advantages, no further progress was made until the arrest of Nuccio last week. We have a high regard for New York's police and legal machinery and find it hard to understand why it has moved in so halting a fashion in a case of such obvious importance. Carlo Tresca's life was given to the cause of political freedom; his death must not remain a victory for the enemies of that cause.

*

BRITAIN'S CONCERN WITH ITS RELATIONS with America has become almost an obsession—though an understandable one. A small measure of this preoccupation is the appearance, in the face of the paper shortage, of a new monthly, *Transatlantic,* published in London under the editorship of Geoffrey Crowther and devoted exclusively to the cultivation of understanding of the United States. The first number is a promising beginning, although it suffers from some superficial defects such as poor make-up and a cover which may be surrealist in intention but in color and general effect suggests an early Mexican miracle board rather than a contemporary magazine. The contents are better. Some of the articles are amusing, some instructive, most of them well written. All but one are by American writers, including among others Carl Van Doren, Nathaniel Peffer, Ogden Nash, and Carroll Binder. The one article by a Britisher, D. W. Brogan, is the best in the issue, and this raises a doubt about the whole plan of the magazine. Can the job of explaining the United States to an intelligent British audience be left to Americans? We believe not. Americans don't know well enough what Englishmen don't know about America. A greater part of the new journal should be turned out by observant British writers who can illumine some of the spots in American life that really baffle our friends—as well as ourselves. Another trouble with *Transatlantic* is even more fundamental. It should, clearly, be a two-way venture: an attempt to interpret each of the English-speaking Allies to the other; and it should be on sale in this country as well as in Britain.

The President's Message

THE PRESIDENT'S message to Congress was notable for its vigor, its comprehensive review of the war effort, and its statesmanship. If at points it reflected his growing irritation with the press and with his critics, that irritation is understandable and its expression this time was restrained. It is true that "there is no so-called 'news' when things run right" and it is also true, as the President said, that we could not have accomplished all we have "if conditions in Washington and throughout the nation were as confused and chaotic as some people try to paint them." At the same time it is the function of a free press to prod for the correction of errors rather than to spend its time patting officials on the back. This criticism, though it needs the corrective of broader perspective from time to time, is useful. And the President was wrong to link it with the "evil work" of Axis propagandists. His burdens are heavy, his anger at criticism only human, but too many incompetent bureaucrats and bunglers, notably in our State Department, would like to stifle criticism by discrediting the critics.

The President provided a better answer to critics in his survey of the vast problems his administration has had to tackle. He could honestly report that since Pearl Harbor we have done a good job and he could justly say that if anyone thinks we are the only ones to make major mistakes "he should take a look at some of the blunders made by our enemies in the co-called 'efficient' dictatorships."

In answering critics of our dealings with Badoglio, the President in effect only asks us to have faith. He says, "We shall not be able to claim that we have gained total victory in this war if any vestige of fascism in any

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of its malignant forms is permitted to survive in the world." We do not doubt his sincerity, but he must be prepared for a measure of scepticism so long as he leaves the State Department in reactionary hands and so long as he himself seems to show a predilection for the kings and Pétains of the old world. Little of permanent value will have been accomplished if we wipe out every vestige of fascism but return to power doddering and corrupt ruling-class elements which were fascism's patrons and partners. In the same way it is not enough to speak, as the President does, of rooting out "the war-breeding gangs of militarists" in Germany and Japan. Behind the militarists were big business elements which will be restored to power if our foreign policy continues to be hostile to popular movements in Europe.

As to the secret conversations with Badoglio which the President defends, we suspend judgment. Whether they served to facilitate our entrance into Italy or only to help the Germans prepare defenses against us is a question which cannot be answered until more facts are available. We would feel less suspicious and more tolerant of dealings with Badoglios and Darlans if once—just once—the President and his State Department showed a similar readiness to deal with popular forces.

The OPA Roll-Back

IT IS fashionable in some quarters to minimize the effectiveness of the OPA's roll-back program. Figures were assembled in *PM,* for example, indicating that the new roll-back would save only 1 per cent of the average family's budget instead of 2.3 per cent as claimed by the OPA. We suspect that *PM* is probably right in its mathematics, but in dwelling on the apparent error in OPA computations it misses the essential fact that the OPA is succeeding in its campaign to drive the cost of living downward.

To gain an appreciation of what the OPA is doing one should look beyond such immediate questions as whether the ceiling on butter is too high or too low, or whether business men or economic experts should determine prices, and consider the cost of living. Prior to May, 1942, when the first over-all price ceilings were put into effect, the cost of living in the United States was rising at the rate of more than 1 per cent a month—and the rate was steadily increasing. Although hampered by a Congressional prohibition which prevented it from controlling many essential food prices, the OPA under Henderson succeeded in slowing the advance to approximately ½ of 1 per cent a month. Later, when Congress passed the revised Price Control Act giving the OPA greater power over food prices, the advance was slowed still more; and beginning in May, after the President issued the hold-the-line order, the increase was stopped altogether. Between May and August the cost of living was reduced by 1½ per cent and food prices were brought down by more than 4 per cent. There is every reason to believe that the OPA will eventually succeed in restoring the price level of September 15, 1942, provided Congress does not embark on an inflationary orgy such as was threatened last spring.

Compare this record with that of the last war. By the end of the forty-fourth month of World War I the cost of living had risen 40 per cent. From then on it advanced more steeply until it had more than doubled. In the first forty-four months of the present war the cost of living went up 25 per cent, but at that point the trend was reversed. This is an impressive achievement. It has been brought about despite constant backbiting in the press, violent attacks from opposition elements throughout the country, and utter lack of cooperation from Congress. What is even more remarkable, it has been accomplished without an adequate program of taxation or forced savings to mop up the excess spending power created by war expenditures. The OPA's entire price-control and rationing program might still collapse as a result of black-market operations if this excess spending power is not diverted into the Treasury, but the use of subsidies provides a powerful weapon for combating this danger. The chief fear now is that Congress may not authorize sufficient subsidies to continue the promised roll-back and cope with the illegal markets.

Impasse in Chungking

THE decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, of China to summon a National Assembly to ratify the constitution no later than one year after the end of the war is rightly being hailed in this country as an important step toward democracy. While it is not the first time that a date has been set for the National Assembly, reports from China a few months ago had indicated that the establishment of constitutional government might be delayed for some years after the close of hostilities. The action of the Central Executive Committee comes therefore as a welcome surprise and suggests a signal triumph for the democratic forces within the Kuomintang. It is a decision which should help remove the unfortunate misunderstandings between China and the other United Nations described elsewhere in this issue by Maxwell S. Stewart.

It is not yet clear, however, what practical effect this decision and Chiang Kai-shek's simultaneous statement on the Communist issue will have on the admittedly tense relations between the Kuomintang and the Communists of the northwest. Chiang's statement was more

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conciliatory in form than in substance. The newly elected President of China declared that the central government "does not have any particular demand to make on the Chinese Communist Party," and asserted that the problem "should be solved by political means." But he then went on to accuse the Communists of "assaulting national-government troops" and "forcefully occupying our national territory." And he reiterated Chungking's demands for a disbandment of the Eighth Route Army and dissolution of the Communist organizations without offering any concessions to the opposition's demand for an immediate guaranty of the rights of minority parties.

In other words, the Kuomintang-Communist issue appears to remain where it was—at an extremely critical impasse—and announcements pledging the early establishment of constitutional government do not seem to have been accompanied by any real effort to solve the immediate crisis. It is for this reason, rather than because of any doubts concerning the significance or sincerity of the Kuomintang's action, that the recent news has been received with some reserve in Washington. It is quite obvious that China's contribution to the war effort depends to a large extent on a peaceful settlement of the Communist issue, which now keeps more than three-quarters of a million of China's best troops immobilized. Huge quantities of supplies which could readily be used to support an offensive are similarly immobilized. But the most serious aspect of the continuing breach is the political. Although both factions are agreed in opposing the Japanese, the internal conflict has been so bitter and so protracted that the war spirit has suffered materially.

The conflict has dragged on so long that it seems futile to hope for an early solution. If there is to be one, it will have to come through a revitalizing of the war effort such as could be produced by active American and British assistance. If the Burma road can be reopened this winter and large quantities of supplies sent to China, it may be possible to draw up a common United Nations strategy which will make the fullest use of all China's military groups in a great offensive to drive the Japanese out of the country. Once the whole of China is again united in active warfare, many of its most perplexing problems will disappear. Unity will be forged by a common effort that cannot fail to give the Chinese people a new sense of their powers as well as of their essential democratic rights.

INTUITIVE INITIATIVE

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X X X and the FBI

BY I. F. STONE

[*We have received several criticisms and one major attack on the two articles entitled Washington Gestapo which appeared in our issues of July 17 and July 24. The articles, signed X X X, were by necessity anonymous, and since Mr. Stone vouched for the author we asked him to do a round-up reply.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Washington, September 17

THE only direct reply the Washington Gestapo articles have elicited from the Department of Justice is a long communication from an employee of the department who asks that his letter be kept "off the record" but at the same time demands that we answer his objections in print. J. Edgar Hoover has made an indirect reply in the form of a letter to the Fresno (California) *Bee,* commenting on an editorial in that newspaper. In this issue *The Nation* is printing two letters of criticism. One, by Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, defends L. M. C. Smith, chief of the War Policies Unit of the department. The other, by Morris L. Ernst, defends the FBI.

I will take up the Baldwin letter first. I think it important to note that the only thing Baldwin objects to in the articles is their reference to Smith. Baldwin says Smith was "made to appear as 'suffering from a "radical" psychosis.'" In the articles the words quoted were applied to Hoover, not Smith, though the context may have been intended to imply that Smith was of much the same mind. The reference to Smith was also criticized by the "off-the-record" communication from the department, which called Smith "an honest liberal" and one who had fought hard to protect government workers "against unjust loose accusations." The "off-the-record" letter also objected that X X X gave a one-sided impression of the unit's work by not citing the fact that it has a Nazi section and a Fascist section as well as a Communist section.

It remains clear that part of the job of the War Policies Unit is to police leftist and working-class opinions. Baldwin's letter admits that the unit did recommend postal action against "the Trotzkyite *Militant* and the organ of a splinter group in Chicago." Our "off-the-record" friend in the department does not dispute the authenticity of the quotation in which it was explained that the unit helped the FBI "to know about and prepare for any necessary action to protect the country against any illegal activity by the leftist groups in the United States, such as the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Industrial Workers of the World, and so forth." I note also that Smith indorsed the Hobbs concentration-camp bill (DJ, 1942, p. 739),* boasted that he got the Post Office to suppress the *Militant* (DJ, 1944, p. 179), and waved a copy of Adam Clayton Powell's *People's Voice* at the House Appropriations Committee (same, p. 183), saying, "Here is the Negro press, which, as you know, has been very virulent. It has not been seditious, but it has been very close to it." With all due respect to Roger Baldwin, I prefer to keep my fingers crossed about Smith and about the War Policies Unit.

Morris Ernst says he has kept "a rather close watch" on the FBI for "close to ten years" and has "yet to hear of a single proved case of violation of the basic civil liberties. This is close to a miracle." Like most miracles, this does not stand up too well under examination. In *The Nation* for March 20 last Ernst will find an editorial on two Supreme Court decisions by Justice Frankfurter in which convictions were set aside because FBI men and local officials were guilty of violating the basic civil rights of the convicted. One case involved eight copper workers arrested in the 1939-40 strike of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers at Copperhill, Tennessee. The miracle is also dimmed by the conduct of the FBI in the Bridges case and in its treatment of persons arrested in the 1940 Detroit raids on Spanish Loyalist sympathizers. The record of the Bridges case, as I reported in *The Nation* in June, 1942, showed that Hoover and the Immigration Service under Major Lemuel B. Schofield fished "in some pretty muddy waters in their anxiety to 'get' Bridges." On the Detroit incident, I refer readers to the letter sent Attorney General Jackson by Senator Norris on March 10, 1940. Jackson's dismissal of the charges against these Loyalist sympathizers serves to underscore the melodramatic lawlessness with which the FBI made the arrests. The accused were routed from their beds between four and five in the morning, subjected to the third degree until three that afternoon, given a scant five minutes in which to see counsel before being arraigned, and led from court handcuffed and chained.

Ernst objects that the author of Washington Gestapo, in listing questions relating to religious affiliations and trade-union attitudes, did not specify which were asked by the FBI and which by the Civil Service Commission. He says this is "as unfair as if someone wrote an article and said that *The Nation* and Henry Luce 'took the following positions' and then failed to specify which positions were taken by you and which by Henry Luce." The

* The references are to the annual hearings before the House Appropriations Committee on the Department of Justice appropriation.

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analogy is far from perfect, since the differences between investigators for the FBI and investigators for the Civil Service Commission, if any, are hardly of the same order as those between *The Nation* and Luce. In Washington I received at least one telephone call from a defender of the commission who implied that such questions were asked only by the FBI. The friends of the FBI return the compliment. From the letters we have received, the experiences of members of the staff, and personal knowledge we believe questions of the sort listed are asked by investigators for both. It may very well be that the heads of neither agency instruct investigators to ask such questions. It is hard to imagine any responsible official of either agency telling investigators to do so. Nevertheless, such questions are asked.

The heads of these agencies cannot pursue tactics that intimidate and then expect persons questioned to demand the names of investigators and boldly send complaints to the commission or the FBI. As things stand in Washington today, that would seem almost a certain way to get oneself put down in the records as a dangerous radical. Our "off-the-record" correspondent in the department is especially annoyed because Washington Gestapo repeated the widely reported fact that government employees are sometimes asked—as a test of subversion—whether they read *The Nation,* the *New Republic, PM, In Fact,* and so on. Anyone who reads Hoover's letter to the Fresno *Bee* in its issue of August 22 will find it easier to understand why. All that Hoover has to offer, besides flat but general denials, is the implication that *The Nation* is not a "reputable" publication.

As for the "off-the-record" communication from the department employee, I asked permission to print the letter, and I asked for an official reply to the articles from Hoover or from Attorney General Biddle. Permission was not granted, and no reply has been received. I cannot discuss the whole letter here but will pick from it certain points which are factual. X X X said that Hoover has refused to include Negroes among his agents. "There are several hundred Negroes employed by the FBI as agents," is the reply, "and in highly confidential and responsible work." Negro leaders have complained for some time that the FBI does not hire Negroes as investigators. Two responsible leaders with whom we checked the "off-the-record" contention expressed surprise and skepticism. Their impression is that Negroes are used only on "spot jobs" and as stool pigeons. Hoover could settle the controversy by publishing the number of Negroes actually employed as FBI agents.

Our "off-the-record" friend in the department complains of a "snide implication" in the Washington Gestapo articles "that anti-Semitism exists in FBI policy." He says there are "a dozen Jews" among the top-ranking officers of the bureau, "and, ironically enough, the man charged directly with investigations of which you complain is himself a Jew." I don't think X X X intended to accuse the FBI of anti-Semitism. I, for one, would make no such charge. But I do believe that some of the investigators in both agencies have the vague and fascistic idea that Jews and radicals are somehow synonymous.

The "off-the-record" communication from the department also protests that Hoover did not, as X X X stated, "personally direct" the Palmer raids after the last war. He says Hoover had no connection with the FBI at that time and conducted no raids but was special assistant to Attorney General Palmer "and assigned to prosecute the deportation cases." Former Attorney General Cummings, in his book "Federal Justice," says that in 1919 a General Intelligence Division was organized in the department "under direct administrative supervision of J. Edgar Hoover, since 1917 in charge of counter-radical activities as Special Assistant to the Attorney General." According to Cummings (pp. 429-30), within three and a half months this division under Hoover "gathered and indexed the histories of over 60,000 persons. . . . Among these were the warden of Sing Sing, Jane Addams, William Jennings Bryan, Mayor Hylan, and a Who's Who of outstanding Americans."

It may well be that Hoover has changed somewhat since those days. Under a progressive Administration, in a period when the labor movement is strong, the FBI could hardly operate Palmer fashion and survive. The strange thing is that even under these conditions, and during an anti-fascist war, anti-fascists should be as uncomfortable and as suspect as they often are in government service today. I am inclined to think that Attorney General Biddle, for all his weaknesses, has not done too bad a job in curbing the FBI, and I think the latest FBI report on the famous Dies list of subversives, which gives Dies a batting average of about .003 per cent, is to Biddle's credit and Hoover's. But from all I can learn and from the letters we have received there can be little doubt about the main features of the picture drawn by X X X in Washington Gestapo. And it may be that the publication of those articles was in part responsible for the new procedure outlined last week by the President's Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations. Under this procedure there may at least be hearings; I say "may" because the committee's power is only advisory. This is progress.

I can find no better closing than to quote the letter sent the Senate Appropriations Committee in 1941 by John Haynes Holmes, Arthur Garfield Hays, and Roger Baldwin. "The authority given the FBI," over government employees, they wrote, ". . . gives it virtually the powers of a political police—that is, of investigation into matters of political opinion and belief. It is axiomatic that in a democracy no police investigations of political opinion aside from acts in violation of the law should be undertaken."

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Cross-Currents in China

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

FOR months a conspiracy of silence has blanketed the strained relations between China and its Western allies. From time to time there have been hints of Chinese displeasure with the United States and Great Britain, but in the interests of United Nations unity not much has been allowed to leak out regarding the nature of American and British anxiety regarding China. Owing to this official silence, little constructive thinking has been done on how to ease the strain so that China may be made a more effective force in the struggle against Japan and in the peace to follow.

The Chinese complain with justification that their country has been consistently treated as a stepchild among the United Nations. For example, the Quebec conference was, according to Prime Minister Churchill, given over primarily to the consideration of United Nations strategy against Japan. But although China will be more vitally affected by the outcome of that strategy than any other nation, it seems to have had no voice in determining it. No member of the Chinese general staff was present at the technical conferences which preceded and accompanied the Churchill-Roosevelt conversations. T. V. Soong, the Chinese Foreign Minister, attended the closing sessions of the conference, but Soong is not a military man, and it is to be presumed that the basic military decisions were taken long before he arrived on the scene. Since China had no part in the planning, it is probable that the coming Pacific offensive will be mainly an American-British show. From the Chinese point of view, this bespeaks a continuation of the "white man's burden" psychology which has so long been used to justify Western imperialism.

Further evidence that China has not been accepted into full partnership in the United Nations may be found, according to Chinese critics, in our failure to deliver lend-lease supplies in anything like the volume indicated eighteen months or a year ago. To be sure, the decline is in large part due to the closing of the Burma road and the immense difficulties of air transportation from India. But in the eyes of many Chinese the closing of the Burma road was itself a glaring example of the shortsightedness of Anglo-Saxon military planning. Even after the fall of Singapore, Burma could have been saved if American and Australian troops had been sent there instead of concentrated in white Australia, or even if Britain had agreed in time to admit the veteran Chinese troops that Chiang Kai-shek dispatched to guard the Burma lifeline.

This, in essence, is China's case against Britain and the United States. While the Chinese are grateful for what help they have received, they can hardly be blamed for feeling that they got along better before Britain and America entered the war, or for fearing that a United Nations victory will still see China playing second fiddle to the Western powers in shaping the future of Asia. Chinese resentment is not softened by the fact that the Japanese puppet government at Nanking, under the nominal leadership of Wang Ching-wei, has gained some following by stressing the duplicity of Western imperialism and that defeatists and would-be collaborators in Free China constantly harp on the same theme.

MILITARY WEAKNESS

Why should the Anglo-Saxon powers thus ignore China's great potential military contributions, and why, above all, should they play into the hands of the Japanese by exposing themselves to the charge of unregenerate imperialism? In the absence of any official defense of our policies from Washington or London, many Americans and Britons have been unduly critical of their governments, accepting the Chinese charges at their face value. Actually, however, the situation is far more complicated than it appears to be on the surface. There are several reasons why the United States and Britain have acted in an apparently high-handed manner. The most important are (1) a feeling that China's military leadership is not good enough to justify intrusting it with major responsibility in the coming United Nations offensive or providing it with the most up-to-date weapons; (2) a belief that China could and should do more to provide itself with the basic sinews of war; and (3) fear that shipments of modern military equipment would be used, not against Japan, but to carry on civil war in China.

Hanson W. Baldwin, military analyst of the New York *Times*, has presented a strong indictment of China's military leadership. In his opinion most of China's troops are "poorly led and incapable of effectively utilizing modern arms," and China's military situation is not only "bad" today but "will probably continue to be bad for some years to come." He has accused the Chinese of manufacturing paper victories in their communiqués on occasions when the Japanese have in fact merely completed a successful maneuver. Mr. Hanson's views are important not merely because they have been read by hundreds of thousands of Americans but more particularly because they probably reflect the opinion of at least part of the American General Staff.

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A similarly harsh indictment of Chinese military leadership was formulated by one of China's best generals after the Chinese setback on the Hupeh front last spring. In a review of the Hupeh campaign published in the *China Daily News* General Ch'en Ch'eng attributed the initial Japanese success in a difficult terrain to "our negligence." More specifically, he spoke of China's failure to coordinate the military, political, and economic aspects of the war. It will be observed that Ch'en Ch'eng's criticism strikes deeper than Baldwin's, and it is probably much sounder. The remarkable successes gained by Chinese guerrillas against great odds suggest that the Chinese are not without real military ability. Except for one or two bad blunders the Chinese showed up quite well in the Burma campaign, better than the British. When the American air force provided air cover in the later stages of the Hupeh campaign, the Chinese outfought and outmaneuvered the better-armed Japanese. All judgments which suggest that the Chinese are lacking in military ability should therefore be regarded as superficial. The real difficulty lies elsewhere.

THE BRAKE ON CHINA'S WAR ECONOMY

With respect to the weakness of China's war strategy in the economic sphere we shall find more general agreement. At least a year ago Chou Mou-pei, a leading figure in Chungking's machine industry, predicted "the total collapse of the machine industry in the interior" because of its dependence on imported parts. He urged a change in basic policy which would make China more self-sufficient in raw materials and war supplies. In a cable from Chungking to the Institute of Pacific Relations Guenther Stein has pointed out that China's production of iron in 1942 was only about 30,000 tons and of steel 10,000 tons. Competent authorities believe that by utilizing small village industries as well as its large-scale facilities China could increase this several fold.

These facts give point to the severe criticism of the Chinese war effort presented by the Soviet writer Vladimir Rogov in a widely quoted article. It is Rogov's contention that China's immense economic resources have never been mobilized for the war because of "covert resistance" in official circles. A lack of vigor in planning has deprived small local industries, such as the industrial cooperatives, of the needed encouragement. As for large-scale industry, Mr. Rogov declares that "industrial and financial circles prefer to engage in profiteering rather than invest their capital in the armaments industry." Emphasis has been on consumers' goods, often of a luxury type, instead of on urgently needed military supplies. This accounts for China's extreme dependence on imports of munitions from the United States, a dependence made very costly by the loss of the Burma road.

Support for this criticism may be found in Chiang Kai-shek's address to the second production conference recently held in Chungking. After urging that "the financial and material resources of the whole nation be mobilized for the production both of arms and of daily necessities," Chiang said that idle capital must be utilized for "production instead of being allowed to circulate in other fields according to changing market conditions." He did not define the "other fields," but it is known that many of China's wealthy men have found speculation in rice and land more profitable than the production of needed war materials. In commenting on this tendency the *Ta Kung Pao,* China's leading newspaper, has bemoaned the fact that "the merchants are becoming landlords, while the landlords are becoming merchants, and neither wants to invest in industrial enterprises."

With this statement the *Ta Kung Pao* placed its finger on the factor which, above all else, impedes the development of an all-out war economy in China and obstructs effective military resistance to Japan—China's archaic system of land tenure. Through a highly exploitative share-cropping system and a usurious credit arrangement the landlord and merchant in local areas maintain a dictatorial grip that throttles efforts to introduce local democracy or to stimulate a more widely based popular support for the war effort. They not only control the bulk of China's idle wealth; they also constitute a powerful political force. Their power, critics charge, is used to prevent the Chinese government from instituting the bold policies necessary to increase production and to bring the present damaging inflation under control.

CHUNGKING POLITICS

This leads us directly to the political problems involved in any strengthening of the Chinese war effort. These problems are extraordinarily complex. Reading of the imminent danger of a renewed outbreak of civil strife between the Kuomintang and the Eighth Route (Communist) Army, many Americans assume that the only important division in Chinese politics is between the right as represented by the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, and the left as represented by the Communists. This is far from being the case. The Kuomintang, as the one fully legal party, is an amalgam of many diverse elements. The divisions within it are largely personal and sectional rather than ideological, but important ideological differences do exist.

The three dominant personalities in the Kuomintang —apart from Chiang Kai-shek—are Mme Chiang's brother-in-law, H. H. Kung, Minister of Finance; Ho Ying-chin, Minister of War; and Chen Li-fu, Minister of Education, who with his brother, Chen Kuo-fu, heads a bloc, known as the CC group, that controls the Kuomintang party machinery. These men have different spheres of influence. H. H. Kung may be said to represent the dominant business and financial interests of present-day China; Ho Ying-chin holds a strategic position among the various, often conflicting military factions; while the Chen brothers operate in the political sphere.

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All three groups are represented in the Cabinet, but the CC bloc controls the largest number of Cabinet posts, notably the ministries of education, communication, social welfare, and information. Independent of any of these three groups, and a less important figure in Chinese internal politics, is T. V. Soong, the American-trained Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is a brother-in-law of Chiang's. Although not noted for firmness or clarity of political conviction, Soong is usually identified with the more progressive elements in the Kuomintang.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's position in this complicated political picture is difficult to define. Unlike the heads of most foreign states, Chiang does not owe his position to organized political backing. Nor is his power derived from the fact that he is titular commander-in-chief of the army. He has immense prestige because of his forthright and unfaltering opposition to Japanese ambitions in China, but beyond this he owes his power chiefly to his uncanny ability to play one group against the other and to effect workable compromises to hold the diverse factions together. Although Chiang rarely takes a strong stand on domestic issues, his loyalty to the United Nations is beyond question. In this respect Chiang is allied with the progressive wing of the party, men like T. V. Soong and Sun Fo among numerous others.

Most dubious among the various groups from the standpoint of the United Nations war effort is the CC clique. Its members have been strongly critical of British and American policies since Pearl Harbor, and have often been accused by democratic groups within China of fascist, and even pro-Japanese, sympathies. This charge obviously cannot be proved, but the CC group has invited it by adopting many of the trimmings of fascism in its methods of party organization. It maintains a secret police to enforce its party mandates that is closely patterned after the German and Italian models. The CC group has consistently fought all efforts to make the Kuomintang more democratic and has taken the lead in urging suppression of the Communists.

Ho Ying-chin is also suspect in some pro-democracy circles. When Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped in 1936, Ho immediately ordered troops sent against the kidnappers even though his action endangered Chiang's life. He opposed Chiang's efforts to form a united front for resistance to the Japanese prior to the outbreak of war, and he is believed to have been responsible for the attack on the Communist New Fourth Route Army a few years ago. As Minister of War he was also involved in the withdrawal from the fighting front of a half-million of Chiang Kai-shek's best soldiers, under the politically ambitious General Hu Chung-nan, and their use in maintaining an active blockade of the region dominated by the Eighth Route Army. General Hu has modeled the political and military organization in the areas under his control on fascist lines.

THE DANGER OF A CLASH

Reliable information on the danger of conflict between Kuomintang troops and the Eighth Route Army is extremely difficult to obtain. The Chinese government has refused to permit either American or British military observers to go into the northwest to obtain first-hand information on the situation and has maintained a rigid censorship on all news pertaining to political developments in that region. As a result, we know only what the right-wing officials in charge of information want us to know. From this source we have recently learned that 10,000 Communist troops "attacked and destroyed" a large force of Kuomintang troops early in August. The charge, however, is denied by an Eighth Route Army spokesman. Chungking denies that liquidation of the Eighth Route Army has been planned by Kuomintang military leaders, although it admits that such action has been demanded by party groups in various parts of the country. Without doubt Chungking is sincere in its denial. But many Americans who have visited China recently have expressed fear lest General Hu or some other ambitious military chieftain attack the Communists in the hope of strengthening his own military and political position. Some feel that this danger would be reduced if American military supplies were sent directly to General Stilwell instead of being shipped to the various Kuomintang armies and if United Nations military observers were stationed in the danger zones. The need for some such precaution is underlined by the fact that Chungking has consistently refused to permit foreign assistance, even in the form of medical supplies, to be sent to the Eighth Route Army.

T. A. Bisson, writing in the *Far Eastern Survey* of the Institute of Pacific Relations, aroused a hornets' nest in official Chinese circles when he declared that the labels "Kuomintang China" and "Communist China" were misleading. He suggested that more descriptive labels would be "feudal China" and "democratic China." Perhaps these labels also are open to objection, but they serve to drive home the fact that Chinese communism, because of the lack of any other opposition party, has attracted a large measure of support from democratic, progressive groups who have little interest in Marxian dogma. Moreover, because China is predominantly rural and rural China's chief curse is landlordism, the Chinese Communists have become, as Raymond Gram Swing recently pointed out, "agrarian radicals trying to establish democratic practices." The Kuomintang, on the other hand, has avoided drastic agrarian reform, presumably because of its close ties to the powerful landowning groups.

It is not necessary to dwell here on the importance of preventing civil war between these two Chinese factions. Such a conflict would not only destroy whatever military effectiveness China now displays but have pos-

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sibly serious repercussions on the relations between Russia and China, thus producing the kind of rift the Axis has long striven to create within the ranks of the United Nations. Both the United States and Great Britain have recognized the danger and have sought to prevent hostilities. Prevention of civil war, however, is not enough. China must be so strengthened that it can participate more effectively in the war and be prepared to assume a position of leadership in the Pacific after the defeat of Japan. This will necessitate a tremendous increase in the amount of economic and military assistance provided China by the United States. It will require reconquest of Burma and the opening of additional supply routes. But if assistance is thus to be stepped up, we have a right to expect China's own contribution to be revitalized. Pressure on the government to reorganize its war economy and settle its political differences must not be regarded as "imperialistic." We are partners in a common war; our interests are bound up with those of China. It is therefore our right to ask that it strengthen itself for the final effort, just as it was Chiang Kai-shek's right, a year ago, to press for a settlement of the conflict between Britain and the India National Congress.

DEMOCRACY NOW—THE SOLUTION

A possible basis for the settlement of China's political differences has just been indicated by Chiang himself. At the recent meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang at Chungking he declared that all political parties would have equal rights and freedom when a constitutional government was set up after the war. The Central Executive Committee took a noteworthy step in this direction by voting to call a National Assembly within a year after the close of hostilities to adopt a constitution. If this were done now instead of being delayed until after the war, the long-standing difficulties between the Kuomintang and the Communists might quickly be removed. The Communists have repeatedly indicated their willingness to give up their separate army and special administrative districts whenever the democratic machinery that would permit a minority party to function effectively is set up. In postponing the creation of this machinery until after the war the committee left the immediate crisis unresolved. There is even danger that the right wing may insist on eliminating the Communists before the National Assembly is set up. Chiang's subsequent statement reiterating the demand for dissolution of the Communists is disturbing. As long the CC clique controls the administrative machinery of the party and the central government, the danger of conflict will persist. Nor are the appropriate steps for the modernization of the army likely to be taken under the present leadership.

Chiang Kai-shek has been reported on several occasions to be considering a reorganization of the government which would bring in younger, more vigorous leadership. There is reason to believe that such a development would be welcomed in Washington, London, and Moscow. But because all these governments are under compulsion to demonstrate that the days of direct foreign intervention have passed, they have swung to the opposite extreme. They have held aloof, preferring to run their own show independently of China. Surely there is a middle course. If we believe that democracy is the only firm basis for a successful war effort and post-war security, we should not hesitate to say so. A way must be found to strengthen the democratic forces of China, both inside and outside the Kuomintang, in their efforts to rehabilitate the Chinese war economy and to broaden popular participation in the Chinese government and in the conduct of the war.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE ONLY FRESH campaign story about Grant is that he stole a Shetland pony, which his son now rides, followed by *two* black grooms. . . . The Chicago *Tribune* is displeased with us for not marking, in our account of campaign stories, the essential difference between stories, such, for instance, as stories of Blair's drunkenness and stories of Grant's drunkenness—the former being true, and the latter false. . . . In every reference we have made to campaign stories . . . we have noticed them simply as works of art and not as instruments of persuasion.—*September 3, 1868.*

THE WOMEN are going to make a determined effort to vote at the next election in England. . . . The "National Society for Women's Suffrage" has issued a batch of instructions to claimants.—*September 3, 1868.*

MESSRS. OAKLEY & MASON announce a complete new edition of Mr. James E. Munson's "Complete Phonographer." So far as we know, this is the first time that any schoolbook publisher has thought of putting on the market as a textbook a work on phonography . . . under . . . stimulus of the press, short-hand writing may well enough become a study in American schools.—*September 17, 1868.*

WE HAVE NOW before us some thirty or forty of the campaign songs of this Presidential contest, which give melancholy proof of . . . our American incapacity for song-making. . . . Whittier, also, who appears as the author of one song, though unequal to himself, is far enough superior to the mass of the bards.—*September 10, 1868.* . . . To the Editor of *The Nation:* No one feels more deeply than myself the importance of securing a Republican victory at the coming election. . . . But I have written no song for the campaign, and shall write none. . . . The lines quoted in *The Nation* of the 10th inst. are simply garbled extracts from a poem, not a song, written at the close of the Mexican war. *(Signed)* JOHN G. WHITTIER.—*September 24, 1868.*

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"Appetite First!"

BY PAUL APPLEBY

UNDER the title We Aren't Going to Have Enough to Eat, Louis Bromfield recently contributed an article to the *Reader's Digest* on the food situation in the United States. The kindest thing that can be said about the alarming picture painted in it is that though purporting to present the facts it illustrates once more Mr. Bromfield's great ability as a writer of fiction.

Only a long and complicated article could take up one by one the numerous instances of misstatement and misunderstanding in Mr. Bromfield's contribution. Let me follow that method with respect only to three statements in three early paragraphs:

Bromfield: "Our ever-normal granary will have been exhausted by the end of the summer, with nothing but a wheat crop 20 to 40 per cent below normal production to replace it."

Wheat stocks are always at their lowest point on July 1. Figures for July 1 have been compiled for many years, whereas figures for "the end of the summer" were not compiled before 1935. This year on July 1 we had in this country 618,000,000 bushels of old wheat, as contrasted with 632,000,000 on July 1 last year, an average of 150,000,000 on July 1 in 1935-39, and an average of 115,000,000 bushels on July 1, 1920-24. Wheat stocks for "the end of the summer," October 1, will total 1,140,000,000 bushels, as compared with 1,378,000,000 a year ago, 1,164,000,000 two years ago, and an average of 699,000,000 bushels on October 1, 1935-39. We had an ever-normal granary of wheat during the 1935-39 period. This year on October 1 we shall have almost half a billion bushels more than we had in those years. Wheat production has a changing significance as the war goes on, but not in Mr. Bromfield's terms. Wheat has not been and is not now one of the items we need most to be concerned about.

The total wheat crop this year, as indicated in the August 1 report, will be 13 per cent greater than the 1932-41 average, and about 1½ per cent greater than the average for 1920-29. What can be the normal below which Mr. Bromfield says we drop "20 to 40 per cent"?

Bromfield: "I would rather not think about next February. By then most of our people will be living on a diet well below the nutrition level."

It is true that in mid-winter our food supply will be at a lower point than it is now. The winter is always the low season. But that our diet then will be something anyone should shudder to contemplate is simply not true. That most of our people will be living on a diet well below "the nutrition level"—whatever that means—is not true. They will at least be living at the level on which they have lived for years and years and years without alarming Mr. Bromfield at all. They will be living on a diet that in content of nutrients approximates the recommended optimum allowances of the National Research Council, which are higher than those of the League of Nations. It will be a diet much superior to that of any other substantial population anywhere in the world today.

Bromfield: "The President, and the men about him responsible for the security of the home front, did nothing whatever about the desperate food situation until April of this year."

That statement is so patently absurd that it not only requires no answer but alone should discredit Mr. Bromfield's whole article. His article is not really about food but about politics, and his political purpose is revealed in his frequent demagogic public references to himself as a small farmer, which might well be read as a bid for mass farmer support. East of the Mississippi River there were in 1940 about 3,532,185 farms. Of these, 8,604 were of one thousand acres or more. That puts Mr. Bromfield in the top 0.2 per cent. In fact, he is in an even more exclusive class. He runs a farm of 1,500 acres.

The government has not done a perfect job by any means. It has not done all it should have done. Opinions on this score vary widely, and in this as in other matters it is much easier to find things at which to throw bricks than it is to design a satisfactory structure and actually lay brick. But some six million farmers will testify that a great deal has already been done.

Food production in 1943 is now estimated to be 32 per cent greater than the 1935-39 average, 25 per cent greater than in 1939. Each year the production of each commodity has been amazingly close to the goals set by the government. That didn't just happen. Never in the world's history has there been such an achievement in farm production. It was a planned and directed achievement. It could, of course, have been planned and directed even better.

The body of Mr. Bromfield's article has to do with specific situations. There are actually millions of such situations. Each one requires lengthy consideration, because each is part of an enormous complex.

Let it simply be pointed out that if farmers had no complaints about machinery, man-power, fertilizer, and

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insecticide shortages, that fact would be positive proof that the war was being badly managed. Under the tremendous demands of war there isn't enough to go around. All the competing needs can come into focus only in Washington, there to be balanced against each other in terms of relative urgencies. The recent failure to reach goals in war production, for example, is definitely related to the deferment of farm workers. Neither Mr. Bromfield on his farm nor the shipbuilder in his office can judge competently the relative values. Both the shipbuilder and Mr. Bromfield contribute to good management when they tell how things are in their establishments. But generalized judgments based solely on any such reports are without significance.

Unnumbered problems face the industrialists and the farmers of America. They are meeting and surmounting countless difficulties every day. The war is a joint product of their efforts and the efforts of those in government who plan, evaluate, reconcile, give shape and direction to the productive effort. The essential story has to be seen broadly. Are we getting the production we need? Is our production of food about right in comparison with our production of ships and guns and airplanes and tanks, and is each right in comparison with the others? The man in the powder plant can't tell whether we are using too much metal making shells. The man on the farm can't tell whether we are using too little metal making farm machinery. These things are revealed only by figures rolling in from tens of thousands of places.

FACTS IN PLACE OF FANCY

What are the essential facts about food? Demands on the food supply would provide material for at least one long study. The factors in production would provide material for another. Distribution is a third big field. Nutrition too is a complicated subject. Yet the facts of vital concern are fairly simple, and they are quite contrary to Mr. Bromfield's sweeping assertions.

First of all, what is the truth about production? In spite of the production difficulties food output here has gone up more than it has in any other large agricultural area in any like period in history anywhere in the world. Here are the United States production figures for the period of this present war to date and for the period of World War I:

INDEXES OF THE PHYSICAL VOLUME OF FOOD-CROP AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION FOR SALE OR HOME CONSUMPTION

(1935–1939 = 100)

World War I		*World War II*	
1914	81	1939	106
1915	84	1940	111
1916	81	1941	115
1917	82	1942	126
1918	90	1943	132*

* Based on Crop Report for August 1 and estimated marketings of livestock and livestock products in 1943.

"Cheer up, Edwin dear, they say we're still above the nutrition level."

So much for the production figures. But Mr. Bromfield's article is headed, We Aren't Going to Have Enough to Eat. What are the essential facts about consumption?

For the fiscal year beginning July 1 we know that, except for carbohydrates, there will be available for civilian consumption as much food per person, in terms of nutritional values, as was available in the period 1935-39, or more. In fat, in protein, in minerals, and in vitamins there will be as much or more per person, and the small calorie drop reflects a single commodity situation—sugar rationing—which is not regarded by the public or the nutritionists as a major war-time sacrifice.

Those are the essential facts, completely at odds with Mr. Bromfield's assertions. But for their better understanding more facts need to be given.

WHERE HAS THE FOOD GONE?

Food production is up 32 per cent since 1935-39, but prospective per capita civilian consumption this year is almost exactly at the 1935-39 level. Where has the increased food gone?

The Census Bureau estimates that our population by January 1, 1944, will have increased slightly more than 8,000,000 above the average population in the 1935-39 period. That takes a good deal of food.

By January 1 the food consumed by those in the military services, as contrasted with what they formerly ate in civilian life, will represent an increase equivalent to adding 4,000,000 adults to our population.

Another part of our increasing production is taken by Lend-Lease. In 1942 Lend-Lease accounted for about 6½ per cent of our total food production. But most of the Lend-Lease takings were effective long before we had

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any talk of shortage, and before we had made our most recent increases in production. We sent more food abroad before Pearl Harbor than we sent again until about March of this year. Shipments in February, March, and April of 1943 were just 8.3 per cent more than the shipments in September, October, and November of 1941. That increase amounts to about ½ of 1 per cent of our production.

So it is not Lend-Lease that accounts for a feeling of shortage. That feeling comes from diversion to the military forces, diversion to our increased population, and—most importantly—from increased employment and increased buying power. Particularly is there increased buying power for food, since wages total so much more than they did and since so many other things that consumers want are not on the market.

There are some other factors in the feeling of shortage. One is that while the figures cited here are valid and normal, there was a time between 1935-39 and now when food consumption per capita reached an unprecedented high. The drop from that level is felt. Another factor is the relative shortage of certain commodities. Although the nutrients we need are available, they are not always available in the form of the food we prefer. Another factor is found in changed distribution. Where rationing is used and is effective it tends to even out consumption, shifting part of it away from the more privileged to the less privileged. Rationing makes for a more equalized consumption, but this means a drop in consumption for some citizens. A shift of a different type is involved in the disposal of more than normal amounts of certain farm products directly from the farm. This has been an important factor in the case of meat. A new privileged class has got rather more than its fair share of meat in this way and nullified rationing to that extent. Other people are thereby deprived of their fair share of meat and feel the shortage. This is a result of the incompleteness of governmental controls.

The realities of the food situation, then, and the reasons for a feeling of shortage should be fairly clear. But the nature of the complaints that are heard—Mr. Bromfield's article is an example—requires some further analysis.

WHY PEOPLE COMPLAIN

The complaints may be divided into three general classes, according to origin. There are complaints that come from farmers—although most farmers, in spite of their many difficulties, are pretty happy and too busy farming to complain much. There are complaints that come from handlers and processors of farm products. There are complaints from consumers. Mr. Bromfield's article lumps these complaints together. Some of them are of one nature, some of another.

Farmers' complaints, growing out of their difficulties, have to do first of all with shortages—of man-power, of machinery, of feed, and the like. These complaints reflect not only the inconvenience and loss caused the farmer by the shortage but his unhappiness over the uncertainty, the time lost, the trouble and delay in getting decisions. The whole complex question of field administration is raised by such complaints, but it is fair to say that governmental efforts to leave partial responsibility with industries and dealers and to use local committees often not selected by or responsible to Washington are one important factor in the situation. The result is loose and widely variable administration. So complaints of this kind are not simply farm complaints. In a measure they are reflections of a democracy surviving under war conditions.

Farmers' complaints also have to do—although to a lesser degree—with prices of farm products and prices of things farmers buy.

The complaints about shortages of man-power, machinery, and other supplies can be considered properly only in terms of competing needs for the same things. Is the army too big? Is the navy too big? Are too many people employed in war industries? Should more civilian-supply activities be curtailed? Are too many ships being built? These are some of the questions connected with farm shortages, and whether or not the government is doing a good job in this respect can be argued only by discussing them from all angles.

Handlers and processors have complained of government controls, limitations on mark-ups, and multiplication of directives. Some have complained of short supplies: a plant processing corn has been unable to get corn; meat markets have been unable to get what they felt—in many cases with reason—to be their fair share of meat, and so on.

Consumers' complaints have been generally about shortages and prices.

Thus most of the complaints, from any source, are about short supplies or about the other aspect of supply, which is price. Where supply is limited, the sense of shortage can be ameliorated only by more equitable distribution. Reduced to their lowest common denominator, then, most of the complaints constitute a demand for assured equity in distribution. And this means greater control of distribution. Most of the complaints are in effect complaints about the incompleteness of control. Some, however, come from people on the other side—people who quite naturally prefer to do things in their own way and therefore object to the existence of any controls.

MORE OR LESS CONTROL?

This is the concealed issue in all complaints about the government's handling of the food problem. The real dispute is between those who, unconsciously for the most part, are demanding that government take full responsibility for distributing essential goods so that

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coupons shall not merely *entitle* the consumer to a fair share of necessary items but *guarantee their availability,* and those who are demanding that the government let people alone to run their own affairs.

The problem for government is to weigh these conflicting complaints. The government is extremely reluctant to undertake controls. So long as war production is not reduced damagingly, so long as it is solely a question of civilian unhappiness about the situation, the problem for the government is this: how strong, how widespread, how deeply felt are these two kinds of complaints? If the people are just moderately unhappy over the things they complain about, the government will not extend its controls for the sake of amelioration. If the people are very unhappy indeed, the government will assume responsibility, extend its controls. Governments, and people, are like that.

While Mr. Bromfield berates the bureaucrats vigorously, he is all unconsciously demanding more regimentation. His conscious demands, however, are directly opposed to government regulation.

First, as one newly come to farming, he has a natural wish to be free to carry out his cherished ideas—to hire all the workers, buy all the materials, his plans call for. His desire is natural, but under war conditions his presentation of it is hardly intelligent. During the war relative short-term efficiencies in the total utilization of manpower and materials must be determining. The nation knows this. The nation will not agree that Mr. Bromfield comes first, the war second.

This simple personal desire of Mr. Bromfield's leads him to his second conscious demand. It is for "such an abundance of food that rationing will be unnecessary." He declares that "the United States can produce that abundance with proper planning, necessary farm labor and equipment, and orderly distribution of food."

Here is a demand that the nation abandon efforts to attain, in the interest of a successful prosecution of the war, maximum total efficiency in the use of its labor and resources. Divert steel from ships to cans. Divert freight cars for the carrying of metals and munitions to the transportation of unrationed foods. Mr. Bromfield's concern is not that we should have food adequate to give us the energy to do our duty in a time of historic crisis. We have and shall have adequate food. His point apparently is that nothing is so important as freedom to become over-weight.

What if the British had said, "We must have so much food that rationing will be unnecessary; that is the first essential"? What if the Russians had said it? What would our boys in the services think of us if we were to say it? What would we think of ourselves?

The answer to this last question is the answer to Mr. Bromfield as he raises his war-time banner "Appetite First!"

In the Wind

WITH THE ASSISTANCE and official approval of the army, navy, and marine corps, the Arrowhead Press has published "Give Out: Songs of, for, and by the Men in the Services." And now *Publishers' Weekly* reports that the book has been declared unmailable under Section 598 of the Postal Laws, covering books the Post Office Department considers lewd and obscene.

UNDER AN ARRANGEMENT that is believed to be precedent-making, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has taken over the management and operation of a warehouse in Los Angeles for the army. Soldiers who formerly ran the warehouse have been released for combat duty. The union makes no profit.

WHY WEREN'T THE RUSSIANS consulted about the administration of occupied Sicily? *Newsweek* has found the answer: "It sounds fantastic, but pure oversight is the explanation offered for the failure to include Russian representatives in the talks which set up AMG operations in Italian territory."

FROM A TALK by Representative William W. Wheat of Illinois to the Manufacturers' Committee of the Decatur, Illinois, Chamber of Commerce, as reported by the Decatur *Herald:* "At the conclusion of the war, Mr. Wheat said, it is his belief that the government should stop the operation of the Big Inch pipe line, constructed as an emergency measure to get petroleum to the East, so that more jobs might be provided discharged soldiers by the railroad lines of the country."

THE INSTITUTE for Public Service, an organization devoted to the reduction of taxes on New York City real estate, has issued a bulletin advising young people endowed with brains and ambition not to waste their time going to college.

NOT SATISFIED with the relocation centers, the Pacific Coast Japanese Problem League is circulating petitions for all Japanese in America to be placed in "concentration camps."

STATION KYA, San Francisco, has accepted Facts to Fight Fascism, a program sponsored by the California C. I. O., says *Tide.* Several years ago a similar program, the C. I. O. News Reporter, was banned by all California stations.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Protector of Bohemia and Moravia has announced that increased milk production will permit the milk ration to be raised from one-sixteenth of a quart per day to one-eighth of a quart. Although the increase took place on Czech farms, the higher ration will go to Germans only. . . . Norwegian street cars are being sent to Berlin to replace those destroyed by bombs.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Fascism Is Still the Issue

IF THE Italian campaign is particularly interesting from the military point of view, because for the first time the Western allies are meeting the *Wehrmacht* in full force, it is no less so from the political. For in Italy many of the political questions passionately debated in this country recently will be put to a test which may in some respects prove conclusive.

We shall see, for instance, which were right—those who defended the system of AMG as it was originally conceived or those who criticized it. We shall see whether or not the Allies could have chosen a course other than the one they followed during the weeks between the fall of Mussolini and the signing of the armistice; whether we could not have shortened the breathing space allowed the Badoglio government and so prevented the Germans from intrenching themselves in the north and center of Italy; whether, by establishing a Committee of Free Italy to address the Italian people from Sicily, we could not have obliged Badoglio to move more speedily and drop his double game of appeasing Germany while stretching out his hand to the Allies. We must watch developments closely, for an analysis of what happens in Italy will teach us much that will be valuable in the future in solving the problems attendant upon the liberation of the rest of the world.

One thing is already evident. It is undeniable that the resistance of the Italian civil population to the Germans far surpassed that of the Italian military, even though their means of defense were vastly inferior. German communiqués have admitted that popular resistance took its most violent form in Milan and Turin, that in those two cities the fall of Mussolini had its strongest political repercussions. Some day the whole story of Milan will be known. But even now the fragmentary information seeping out of underground channels tells us how overnight, under clear and energetic leadership, Milan assumed the color of an anti-fascist city and became the potential rallying-point for Italian democracy.

The Milan anti-fascist leaders understood from the beginning that merely to cry for peace and to hail the United Nations was not enough. If the Italian masses were to have an incentive to fight, the movement for liberation had to have real political content. It was natural that the question of the elimination of the monarchy should arise, and that the masses should demand a regime which would inspire them with confidence and hope. Only the poorest school of diplomacy, only columnists with not the slightest knowledge of the way the masses react, could have misinterpreted the cry of "Long Live the King" which greeted the fall of Mussolini on that Sunday afternoon, July 25. From its first utterance, "Long Live the King" meant only "Death to Mussolini," and the next morning both Mussolini and the King, as might have been expected, were subjects of the same curse.

The Italian people could never have been roused to a real fight simply by the prospect opened by the termination of the alliance with Germany. They were truly eager to break with Germany and to come into the war on the side of the democracies, but they would do so only on the condition that every vestige of fascism at home be eradicated. They would not submit to a Badoglio who, while suppressing fascist ideology in the newspapers, admitted four members of the former Grand Fascist Council to his ministerial deliberations.

The heroic resistance of Milan and Turin was forged by the straightforward anti-fascist purpose of the leaders, and the greatest severity was required to quell the "communistic rioting" (we quote from the German communiqué) which so "worried" Marshal Rommel. Unfortunately the heroism was in vain, at least for the moment. As everywhere else in the last ten years, the left in Italy has been delivered into the hands of reaction. While Mussolini has been able to escape his fate, while Ciano enjoys sanctuary in territory occupied by the Allies, while the King and Badoglio, their records stained with crime and shame, may one day be recompensed by the United Nations for their "services," at least ten thousand of the most active Italian anti-fascists have been massacred in Rome, Milan, Turin, and elsewhere by the troops of Rommel and Kesselring, with the help of local Fascists.

We must have the courage to face the truth: the anti-fascist opposition in Italy has been decapitated. As in the past, the best fighters for democracy have gone down without receiving any substantial help from the democracies. (I am sure that many an Italian Socialist in Milan died saying, "Once more we have been betrayed.") The Allies must realize that the enemy has not only strengthened his military position in the north of Italy; he has also crushed the first great Italian movement of rebellion. Since the Italian opposition has been deprived of its best elements within Italy, it becomes more necessary than ever for the United Nations to use, without hesitation, every Italian anti-fascist abroad. Sforza must be used; also Salvemini, Pacciardi, and

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dozens of others with authority in Italian liberal and labor ranks. What should have been done when Sicily was first invaded must at least be done now—at once. The fact that the working people of Milan and Turin offered the Germans greater resistance than did the well-equipped Italian divisions in the Balkans proves once more that men will willingly sacrifice their lives when they have a firm political line to follow.

In Spain we understood very well that an Italian could be either a poor or an excellent warrior. Colonel Pacciardi, who commanded the Garibaldi Battalion in Spain, will remember my address to his men in the unforgettable days of the Battle of Guadalajara. The battalion had already proved its fighting abilities and was to see action again within the next few hours. I was worried lest the contemptuous tone in which the Spanish press and public referred to the Italian Fascist divisions routed at Guadalajara should jar the patriotic sensibilities of the battalion, and I thought that a member of the Spanish government should visit them at the front. I addressed them like this: "You were born on the same soil as the men who have been so badly defeated by the Republican army at Guadalajara. You belong to the same generation. Like them, you are Italians. But though the soldiers of Mussolini in Spain have been defeated by an inferior force, you have gained the esteem of the Spanish people by your capacity and your courage. The difference is that you are anti-fascists. You have a cause for which to fight. You have suffered fascism in your country, and you are determined to fight it wherever it may appear. That is what makes you such excellent soldiers." The spirit that dominated the Garibaldi Battalion came suddenly alive in Milan.

"Down with Fascism" is not only the most efficient slogan with which to inflame the people of Europe against Hitler; it is the only one that makes sense on the other side of the Atlantic. It is not too risky to assert that, with the exception perhaps of Holland, where for many reasons resistance to the invader has not radically changed the political alignments which existed there before the war, the people of every country of Europe have decisively turned to the left. Everywhere the determination of the people is the same: not to stop until fascism has been wiped off the earth—not gently, not as it was treated in Sicily, where AMG authorities can still collaborate with minor Fascists, but in the ruthless way the workers of Milan and Turin would have extirpated it had they not been crushed by the forces of Marshal Rommel.

Anti-fascism means quite a different thing to the people of Europe from what it means to even the most enlightened liberals in Great Britain and the United States, who have never borne the marks of fascism on their flesh. I have felt the difference more than once in the various round-table discussions in which I have been privileged to join my American friends. Our moral reaction to fascism was the same. But our conception of the nature of the anti-fascist fight was not quite the same. No genuine European anti-fascist could say, as was said last week at the Annual Conference of Science, Philosophy, and Religion at Columbia University, that punishment of the fascist leaders is, after all, not such an all-important problem, that our chief concern is with the organization of the peace. For a European anti-fascist the extermination of fascism is the first step to peace; for him there can be no talk of peace until every fascist responsible for this war is utterly destroyed. For he knows that their survival would make any stable peace impossible.

This fanatical anti-fascism of the peoples of the world need not alarm anyone. While the rising revolutionary tide in Europe may provide more than one headache for the well-meaning members of the AMG, it must surely be recognized that the anti-fascist spirit that has weathered four years of the most brutal Nazi repression is an invaluable source of strength; it can be drawn on to accelerate the winning of the war and to smooth the path toward a real peace. Every city of Europe can be a Milan. Fascism is still the issue.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IT WAS rumored in Germany that he no longer lived. Propaganda, though hampered somewhat by the necessity of discretion, made vigorous efforts to combat the rumor. The *Freiheitskampf* of Dresden, for example, on August 25 censured people "who, if they have heard nothing of a certain personage for some time, immediately make him the subject of the most fantastic fairy tales." The purpose of Hitler's radio speech of September 11 was partly to prove that he had neither committed suicide nor been murdered.

But other rumors circulated too. It was said that events similar to the recent change of government in Italy were impending, that Hitler would be shoved aside and his power taken over by the generals. The Zurich newspaper *Die Nation* reported on September 2 that Munich—"a hotbed of rumors"—was seething with this story. Everyone was saying that the army was preparing to "proclaim the long-planned military dictatorship before the end of the year." The Munich rumors even defined the purpose of the coup d'état: the military would at once "permit the occupation of the Reich by Anglo-American troops in order to prevent the entry of the Russians."

Similar and even more detailed versions of the story were published in the *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* on September 1. Its correspondent declared that Field Marshal von Manstein was slated to be the future German Ba-

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doglio. But he added that there was another group which was planning just the opposite—which intended after the overthrow of Hitler to open the door to the Russians and to form a German-Soviet-Japanese alliance against the Anglo-Saxons.

There is no occasion to dwell on the political aspects of the rumors agitating Germany. What is interesting is that the people's heads were, and certainly still are, filled with Badoglio expectations and Badoglio prognoses. This fact supplied another reason for Hitler's radio speech. It has not been sufficiently emphasized that the high point of the address was the Führer's refutation of the idea that Mussolini's fate was hanging over him. There can be no thought of such a thing, he cried. The men who surround me are faithful. In his own words—though a translation can hardly reproduce his illiteracies and grammatical errors, which were even more hair-raisingly frequent than usual:

> The attempt of the international plutocratic plot to break the German resistance like in Italy is childish. This time they confuse the German nation with some other people. Their hope of finding traitors in its midst today is based on a misunderstanding of the National Socialist state. Their belief that they can bring about a July 25 in Germany also is based on a fundamental misconception of my personal position and of the attitude of my political collaborators and my field marshals, generals, and admirals. More than ever before, the German leadership as a fanatically united group is thwarting such intentions. Any emergency will only strengthen our resolution. In doing so my personal life has long since ceased to belong to myself anyway. I work with the knowledge and with the sense of duty of being able to secure by my contribution the life of my nation for generations in the future.

Even in Germany few persons will be able to accept Hitler's testimony as first-class proof of his field marshals' and generals' faithfulness to him.

How much personal prestige Hitler still enjoys in Germany is an interesting question. A year ago, it should be recalled, he had not suffered a single severe, outwardly visible defeat. At that time an immense number of people believed in him with blind enthusiasm. Even the others could not entirely escape the influence of his continuous victories. "He succeeds in everything," they admitted resignedly. Under the impact of one year's defeats this attitude has been changing at an amazing tempo. On August 1 East Prussian newspapers carried an article by the *Gauamtsleiter*, Professor Gruneberg, rector of the University of Königsberg. Under the title Res venit ad triarios—The Hour of the Old Guard Has Come—it said:

> It is time for the Führer's Old Guard to gather and prepare for an emergency. . . . The people no longer put blind trust in the Führer. Every true *triarius* will agree that there is at present a revolting amount of foolish talk. When evil persons do not stop short of criticizing the Führer himself, we must strike hard."

Two recent events may be cited as bearing, if but slightly, on the subject of "Hitler and the Generals." The first is an execution announced by the official D. N. B. on September 9. A Baron Arno von Wedekind had been put to death by the ax. The Baron was twenty-four years old, a student. His crime was things he had said. He had spoken to foreigners "about Germany and its struggle in the basest manner, thus betraying his own people." With Germans "he had used defeatist language calculated to have a disintegrating effect and to undermine German morale."

The second occurred in the Norwegian city of Kristiansund and was reported in the Stockholm *Aftontydningen* of September 6. Just as a troop train was about to pull out, six officers staged a demonstration on the station platform.

> They tore off their badges of rank and their Distinguished Service medals, crying, "Heil Churchill! Hoch Roosevelt!" Wild rioting followed, and a Gestapo man was knocked down. Finally the *Ortskommandant* succeeded in arresting the officers.

RUSSIA AND SPAIN

Few persons realize how seriously the Blue Division which Franco sent to fight in Russia has disturbed the internal harmony of the United Nations, or how greatly it has aggravated Moscow's distrust of its Western allies. Although militarily unimportant, the Blue Division has served as an effective medium for anti-Russian agitation not only in Spain but in South America. Every Spanish soldier who returns from the Russian front is used as a mouthpiece for inflammatory speeches against the Soviet Union, and these are then broadcast throughout Latin America. Contrary to assertions appearing in the American press, recruiting for the Blue Division continues without pause, although it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain "volunteers." And in an official statement issued after the Italian surrender, Arrese, general secretary of the Phalanx, again proclaimed as the basis of Spain's foreign policy "the fight against communism." Lately the Soviet press has given particular attention to the subject of Spain, and the Red Star *has stated very clearly that no matter what the plans of "other people" may be the Soviet Union will never countenance the continuation of the Franco regime against the will of the Spanish people; nor can it condone the tolerant attitude of the United Nations which has allowed Franco to maintain his Blue Division on the eastern front.*

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Ordeal of Jean Hélion

THEY SHALL NOT HAVE ME. By Jean Hélion. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.

WHEN war broke out, Jean Hélion, married to an American, was peacefully painting in Virginia. In January, 1940, he crossed the Atlantic to help defend France. Six months later, five days after the fall of Paris, Hélion and his battalion were captured by the Nazis near the Loire. "A fine epitaph for Hitler," Hélion considers, "would be: 'In everything he had method.'" Hitler's method of preventing Hélion or any one of his thousands of fellow-prisoners from escaping was to tell them that they were going home, then march them for six days 162 miles without food or water. On the fifth day "the column was dragging itself over a forest road when the unbelievable order came: 'Run! Run!'" Nazi guards fired at their heels. Then Hélion saw something which he could not have believed possible: "the whole column ran." He saw seven men fall dead from exhaustion. "One cannot mistake a man falling dead from exhaustion," says Hélion. "It is as if his body had lost the backbone. It drops like clothes from a hanger, and arranges itself gently on the ground." Those who survived that ordeal reached, not home, but Germany.

Probably never has a more exact picture of prisoners of war been drawn than in this book by a Frenchman who for two years was a prisoner in the Reich. So far the press has hardly done his record justice. Space it has been given, but the tendency has been to treat it as just one more "I Was There" war book. *Time*, to my knowledge, is the only journal to reveal how much more it is than that. But even *Time*, with its habitual refusal to be all the time serious on an all-the-time serious subject, found it necessary to compare M. Hélion's amazing escape from the Fortress of Europe with "the escape of Casanova from the Leads." Unlike the authors of most war books, M. Hélion preaches no sermons, neither generalizes nor prophesies, makes no pretensions to fine writing (therefore writes extremely well); and, finally, he is as scrupulously fair to the people from whom he suffered appalling misery as it is possible for a decent, dignified human being to be.

Jean Hélion, at thirty-nine, is one of the most distinguished living abstract painters, with ten one-man shows to his credit in the United States alone. He is also a lecturer and expert writer on theory and technique in painting. Short and shortsighted, he might be taken for a modest school teacher were it not for a singular air of authority, an energy showing itself in every word and gesture, and a bush of hair which, when coaxed by its owner to help save his life by lying down flat, flatly refused to do so.

Before embarking on his detailed account of captivity Hélion raises what would seem a very important question. On going to war, he remarks, every soldier is instructed how to dress a wound, "a simple precaution that may save his life." But why, he asks, "isn't he told something about regaining his freedom if he happens to lose it?" Hélion is convinced that his story would have ended here, if only he had received half an hour of instruction from someone who had gone through what was in store for him.

As it was, ignorant and starved, Hélion and fifty-four comrades were gun-butted into an Orléans cattle truck supposed to hold a maximum of *40 hommes, 8 chevaux*. He and nine others finally landed on a prison farm in Pomerania, where at sight of their physical condition "the pink, sourish, piggish-faced" overseer gave vent to his disgust "with a wide gamut of howls." Baroness von Z., who owned the enormous estate as well as numerous serfs, expressed her contempt "with a highly distinguished wrinkle." Here, while the "Battle of Britain" raged—an event he did not hear about until two years later, in America—Hélion not only dug potatoes fourteen hours a day and ate them at every "meal" until his stomach swelled with gas, but was forced to peel them when he got "home," exhausted, at night—nights during which the thermometer fell to 34° (F) below zero. Hélion and a friend spent the long winter planning, dreaming, talking their escape—to be made the following June. "We would try to cross the border beyond the source of the Rhine. It meant about 900 miles. . . . We would live on raw grain mashed and soaked in water, and on fish." Final preparations had been made when suddenly, in March, he and 300 others were transferred to Stettin-on-Oder, into the hold of an anchored prison ship which "swallowed" 750 starving Frenchmen.

The days in Stettin the prisoners spent at work in nearby factories, the nights in the darkness of the ship's hold. There "a mysterious and concentrated life began." Strong men—among them Hélion—whose mental alertness managed to conquer fatigue crept from their lice-ridden bunks "toward passionate rendezvous." Under hidden lamps constructed of material picked up from wreckage caused by R. A. F. raids, these men—held in awe by their comrades—met to forge documents, alter smuggled-in garments, perfect disguises for escape. The less adventurous played passionate poker for a year's salary and, when that was lost, for packages that had not arrived and pieces of personal clothing. Others met to collect the largest lice, which by constant practice on a dummy they were able to flip on to their *Kommandoführer* as he marched down the ranks. A prisoners' "black market" was formed. Hélion, who was held in high esteem and had been made interpreter to the *Kommandoführer*, bribed that gentleman to treat the prisoners well by offering him every third day a cup of the American coffee which he had received from his wife.

Captivity is a world like no other—a world "within" where, because they know nothing of the world "without," men's thoughts all the time turn inward, on themselves. Well aware of this, the Nazis spread the most insidious of all propaganda. They "allowed" the prisoners to read not only Goebbels's *Das Reich* but newspapers from occupied France and Belgium. "Dealing with local problems in which

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every one of us was interested," writes Hélion, "they showed the Nazis at their best, our former politicians at their worst, and the Allies in their most embarrassing positions." The prisoners tried their utmost not to believe what they read, but the words "intoxicated them slowly." To sustain both his own morale and that of his fellow-prisoners in the face of only negative news was the hardest of the many hard jobs Hélion undertook for the benefit of his comrades. Certain facts and beliefs, however, must have done more than any written word to undermine his great fortitude. The most soul-destroying, perhaps, was Hélion's conviction that while some 1,300,000 French prisoners were, and are, solving the Reich's labor problem, and incidentally permitting "the mobilization of more men for the fighting armies," they are also, thanks to the Nazis' confiscation of about one-fifth of their pay, presenting daily to the Reich "at least 2,000,000 marks, net."

One day, "overdriven, tired of dragging the mass of my comrades behind me," Jean Hélion had had enough. That auspicious day was Friday, February 13, 1942. Hélion escaped. Of that odyssey I shall say only this: that while a disguised Hélion was trying to avoid inspection of his forged papers by an official on a train from Berlin to Cologne, I was traveling from New York to Croton. An official, wanting to see my ticket, touched me on the shoulder. My hands jumped. "They Shall Not Have Me" fell to the floor.

JAMES STERN

Our Naval War

AMERICA'S NAVY IN WORLD WAR II. By Gilbert Cant. The John Day Company. $3.75.

THOROUGHLY competent military critics are rare. When, in addition, these men have a knack of writing interestingly, their material is worthy not only of being read but of being studied closely. As one of the handful of men in the United States with these attainments, Mr. Cant has the further advantage of having been in an especially good position, as war editor of the New York *Post,* to know details of naval war which, though not secret, have been omitted from the brief and unimaginative communiqués of our "silent service." In "The War at Sea," published a year ago, he uncovered comparatively new information regarding early naval action. Now, in "America's Navy in World War II," he has traced the developments in our sea war from Pearl Harbor through the earlier campaign in the Solomons.

In trying to put together a detailed and complete account of our naval war, the author has operated under the disadvantage of an unwise and arbitrary censorship, which has several times chosen to conceal facts discreditable to itself but perfectly well known to the enemy. The handicap imposed is suggested by the fact that no earlier writer has attempted to produce so comprehensive a book under such unfavorable conditions.

Owing to these circumstances, it is hardly possible to pass final judgment on "America's Navy in World War II" until fuller information becomes available. But almost any reader will find the merits far outweighing the defects. Among the latter is too long an introduction, not all of which is pertinent to the subject. In giving details of naval actions, the author sometimes loses himself in them and does not outline clearly the strategy within which they took place. A few errors of fact have crept in, such as the statement that the four ships authorized in 1883 were expected to steam at eighteen knots. A closer check on naval history would have revealed that the four ships had designed speeds of thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen knots. Several misspelled words and one or two hopelessly involved and grammatically incorrect sentences also indicate hasty or inadequate proofreading.

Despite these shortcomings, "America's Navy in World War II" is an outstandingly good value. It is, indeed, almost a "must" book for anyone wishing a clear understanding of our naval war. The bare skeleton of information made available by the Navy Department has been supplemented by a vast mass of additional facts. There are gaps, to be sure, but they are surprisingly few. The comment which one reviewer applied to Cant's earlier volume, "It is a better book about the war than anyone has a right to expect during a war," also holds true of this work. Although first of all a newspaperman, the author has written history with an understanding and a grade of scholarship that would establish the reputation of any professional historian. The epic story he has to tell has been presented exceedingly well.

It is all to the credit of the writer that he has not fallen into the temptation of becoming an apologist. In many cases where praise is due he gives it unstintingly and defends the navy from criticisms made by others. He does not, for example, agree with some critics in blaming the loss of four big cruisers in the early Solomons fighting on defensive tactics. Nor does he agree with the often-made charge that cooperation between Halsey and MacArthur in the Southwest Pacific was weak. But he is also keenly aware of the navy's shortcomings and points out some but by no means all of them. The tyrannical and inconsistent publicity policy stemming from Admiral King is an object of special attack. Neither is the early fumbling in dealing with submarines in the Atlantic overlooked. However, both in this instance and in dealing with the inexcusable episode of Pearl Harbor the author does not delve much below the surface. He intimates that the admirals bungled affairs, but one is left somewhat in the dark as to why such men were in high position at the time and how a better handling of affairs could have been assured.

In one of the several valuable appendices which complete the book, the author, in discussing Japanese cruiser and destroyer losses, states what virtually every close student of naval affairs knows—that if all American "sinkings" of ships of these classes had actually occurred the Japanese would have a minus number in both categories. The American claims and those of the Japanese concerning the destruction of carriers appear to be about on a par: both are mathematically impossible.

The scope of Mr. Cant's latest book alone sets it apart from the great majority of war books. In sixteen extremely meaty chapters he provides the background of the present conflict, discusses the period of undeclared war in the Atlantic, reviews the Pearl Harbor, Philippine, and Indonesian tragedies, our Pacific raids by task forces, the submarine in the Atlantic and Pacific, the great battles of the Coral Sea and

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Midway, the naval activities in the Mediterranean, and the long-drawn-out struggle for the southern Solomons. A last chapter, Which Way to Tokyo? briefly indicates the author's own views of the probable course of the Pacific war. With the basic strategy of beating Germany first there is no quarrel. But Mr. Cant feels, in common with a large number of civilian and military critics, that too little force has been diverted to the Pacific to make a really effective "holding" campaign possible. While awaiting the day of complete concentration on Japan, we should pursue tactical offensives in a number of thinly held enemy areas, devoting ourselves particularly to the reopening of the Burma road and the consequent strengthening of China; and it is on attacks from Chinese bases or from the North Pacific rather than on island-hopping that Mr. Cant places most of his confidence in ultimate victory. DONALD W. MITCHELL

The Negro's Economic Place

THE NEGRO'S SHARE: A STUDY OF INCOME, CONSUMPTION, HOUSING, AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE. By Richard Sterner, in Collaboration with Lenore A. Epstein, Ellen Winston, and Others. Harper and Brothers. $4.50.

THIS volume, the third in The Negro in American Life series, which was made possible by funds from the Carnegie Corporation, is the most comprehensive and at the same time the most fundamental study of the Negro's economic position in American society that has ever been undertaken. Although, as the title indicates, the book is primarily concerned with what the Negro "gets out of the economic system as an income-receiver and consumer," it includes as a necessary part of the analysis an objective account of the conditions under which the Negro participates in the economic life of America. After examining such claims as the racial inferiority of the Negro and his lower living standards as justification for lower wages, the author makes clear at the outset that the value premise underlying his study is the American creed of equality. He bases his position upon the fact that no scientific evidence has been produced to prove the racial inferiority of the Negro and that the lower living standards of the Negro are part of a vicious circle: the Negro lives on less because he receives less and since he lives on less, it is argued, he should receive less.

The book is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the living conditions of Negroes and the second with their social welfare. The first fact of importance in regard to the living conditions of Negroes has been, as the author shows, the movement of Negroes from farming into non-agricultural pursuits. This movement has been taking place on a large scale since the First World War and has been associated with the decrease in the amount of land devoted to cotton production. However, changes in Southern agriculture, which were accelerated by the AAA program, have not had the same effect upon whites and blacks in the South. There has been a much greater decline in the number of share-croppers among whites than among Negroes, and whereas there has been a significant increase in the number of white owners, the number of Negro owners has continued to decline since

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1920. As a result of the shift from farming to non-agricultural pursuits, between 1910 and 1930 Negro males lost or gave up 300,000 jobs in agriculture and gained 775,000 jobs in industry. In this shift from agricultural to non-agricultural pursuits the Negro male worker has found a place chiefly in semi-skilled and more especially unskilled occupations, while he still plays an insignificant role in skilled, clerical, managerial, and professional pursuits. Negro women have not fared so well as Negro men, since the shift from farming to non-agricultural occupations has resulted in a large increase of the number in domestic and personal service, while the number of white women has increased significantly in many occupational groups.

It is against this background that the author discusses family incomes and expenditures and the housing of Negroes. Family incomes and expenditures are analyzed in relation to the significant differences between the composition or structure of Negro and white families. Because of the large amount of family disorganization among Negroes, there is a greater proportion of "non-family" persons and families without children than among whites, though Negroes have a larger proportion than whites of families with four or more children. Even when such refinements are made for the sake of statistical accuracy, the incomes of the great mass of Negro families are found to be below the maintenance level, particularly in the South. In Northern cities Negroes have been able to achieve a higher level of living, though there too a large percentage of Negro families have incomes below the maintenance level. The analysis of expenditures for individual items, especially for food consumption, shows to what extent the mass of Negro families must struggle for mere physical survival. Especially significant for the average white American is the fact brought out by this study that the reputed improvidence and extravagance of Negroes are greatly exaggerated and that a substantial number of Negro families "balance their budgets better than the average white family of corresponding means."

The second section of the book contains the best analysis to date of the Negro's share in the various welfare agencies set up under the New Deal. The economic liability of Negro relief cases in those urban areas where Negroes constitute a large proportion of the population and the discrimination in granting relief to Negroes in the South during the earlier years of the New Deal are analyzed in relation to the low earnings of the Negro. However, when the Works Progress Administration was set up, the Negro began to obtain a share proportionate to his needs in the North, though in the South he was still subject to discrimination. Although Negro youth shared in the benefits of the National Youth Administration in proportion to their numbers in the population, because of their poverty and lack of education they did not share in proportion to their needs. In regard to assistance to the aged, the Negro has suffered not only because of the large numbers in agriculture, but also because of the belief in the South that Negroes can get along on less than whites. Nevertheless, through the influence of the federal government the Negro has gradually received a more equitable share in the benefits of social security. This was especially true in regard to some phases of the work of the Farm Security Administration. It was also true in regard to subsidized housing projects, though the Home Owners' Loan Corporation has not only discriminated against Negroes but has tended to freeze the segregation of the Negro in cities.

The special value and, one might say, uniqueness of this study by an "outsider" are attributable not simply to its thoroughness but more especially to the premises, which are made explicit at the beginning. The first is that the Negro has the right to equality of opportunity and rewards in a competitive economy, and the second, that the Negro's share in consumption should be evaluated in terms of a decent standard of living and human welfare. The second premise reflects undoubtedly a point of view which the author, a Swedish social economist, has carried over from his work with the Swedish Population Commission. Although this study is based largely on the researches and materials of American investigators, the author has not only synthesized these materials but has made independent statistical analyses in order to answer the questions arising from his premises. Consequently, the book may not appeal to those having only a superficial interest in the Negro; and though many basic tables are relegated to the appendices, the statistical documentation of the text will tend to repel the general reader. Yet because of the fund of factual information and fundamental statistical analyses contained in the book, it is a work of permanent value in the literature on the Negro.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Crusader

CHALLENGE TO FREEDOM. By Henry M. Wriston. Harper and Brothers. $2.

BY AN odd coincidence almost all the important things which threaten freedom in the eyes of Dr. Wriston are associated with the New Deal. Some of them are also associated with communism or fascism or both. He concedes that the Republican Party has strayed from the true faith occasionally, but these minor admissions are scarcely intended to disguise the fact that the book is a partisan political document.

As a preelection-year tract, "Challenge to Freedom" may be forgiven many of its unsupported generalizations and even a few misinterpretations of fact. Unfortunately, there are many indications that the author considers himself an honest crusader for freedom rather than a political pamphleteer. If he is writing soberly as the president of Brown University, his distortions of history are really disturbing.

The exaggerations are doubly unfortunate because many of the issues raised in the book are timely and worthy of serious consideration. Wriston is entirely right in his repeated denunciations of the cynical doctrine that the end justifies the means, and he is too nearly right in his charge that American political leaders have followed this doctrine frequently in recent years. The road to this war was paved with cynicism throughout the world, and a return to moral principles is essential for lasting peace.

The dangers of too much centralization of government are real, and are not less so because reactionaries are currently using the charge of centralized power as a stick to beat the Roosevelt Administration. There is at least some justification for Wriston's statement that "there is desperate need for

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reform in the citadel of the reformers." And any honest liberal should go along with him in this: "We are not faced with the choice between impotence and tyranny, between laissez faire and dictatorship. We can pursue the third alternative, which is the characteristic American solution: a framework of laws which establishes and defines the orbit of action but leaves the individual free to move within that orbit."

But when the author gets around to what he calls a program, his recommendations turn out to be purely negative, despite all his efforts to clothe them in ringing and positive language. He says, "Make the common sense and the common honesty of the common man our common reliance." What he means is to give the common man the good old nineteenth-century gambler's chance to become a millionaire if he can make it and to starve if he can't.

In the last chapters the book is perfectly explicit in its program of reaction. One chapter is devoted to heaping scorn on the ideal of security, and another to attacking the desirability of full employment. "Full employment," says Wriston, "is a political fantasy rather than an economic or social goal." And further: "Full employment is possible, at a price. But the price is the restriction of liberty and a lower standard of living."

Nowhere is there the slightest recognition of the fact that industrialization, mass-production techniques, the growth of large corporations, and a revolution in finance have completely altered the original economic structure of the United States. There is instead a plea that we restore to our children an opportunity to live hazardously, "and stop babbling endlessly about security."

Wriston's euphemisms for reaction offer an interesting lesson in semantics. For example, he writes that ours "is a generation doubtful of its own children. It was fearful of their competition; it sought to keep them off the labor market, passing laws to deny them economic experience. . . ." If this means anything, it is an attack on child-labor legislation and on efforts to prolong the average period of education. It may appeal to some believers in rugged American individualism, but it will have a strange sound to the youth who tried to find jobs between 1929 and 1941.

This lack of genuine realism, this failure to connect generalizations about moral principles with the actual world of the twentieth century, is characteristic of the whole book and the state of mind it represents. The value of human dignity and the rights of the individual need restatement in contemporary terms, but they cannot be restored or preserved by looking backward nostalgically to a world which will never exist again.

CHARLES E. NOYES

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IN BRIEF

INDIA'S PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED. By DeWitt Mackenzie. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

Recently India, which has always been a live topic, has suddenly become also a crucial one—crucial to the fortunes of the United Nations. DeWitt Mackenzie's book is therefore a welcome addition to our information on that second most controversial subject of our time—the first being Soviet Russia. And yet one hardly escapes the feeling that this is one among several books of similar content that have appeared in the last two years. For most of the material presented here has been repeatedly presented before, and the ground covered is practically the same. Its only point of distinction is the final chapter, which bears the title of the book, "India's Problem Can Be Solved." That represents a hopeful mood, displays a constructive attitude, and sends forth an optimistic note at a time when so much gloom hangs over the question of India. What is more, Mr. Mackenzie backs up his optimism by hard facts collected during his recent visit to India—a country he had previously visited two decades ago. For this alone Mr. Mackenzie deserves congratulations and attention.

LIFE IN UNOCCUPIED FRANCE. By Neville Lytton. The Macmillan Company. $1.40.

This little book is a simple, sincere, and very personal story by an Englishman who has lived many years in France, since studying at the Ecole des Beaux Arts before the last war, in which he served in the British army in France. It presents a convincing and quite valuable picture of a France that is awaiting the day of deliverance from Vichy no less than from the Germans.

FILMS

IT IS hard to have clear judgment about war pictures, especially nonfiction war pictures, and the current excitement over the record of the defense of Stalingrad—the full, painfully pleonastic title is "The City That Stopped Hitler—Heroic Stalingrad"—is a good example of how hard it is. The very name of the city is such a sounding-board in most minds, such a bid to emotions and sympathies which addle the power of judgment, that the water is muddied from the start. Added to that, "Stalingrad," like most other record films or newsreels of war, contains images of war so grand or so touching, so much more worth seeing than nearly anything else we ever see on the screen, that we are liable on their account to feel that we are seeing a great picture or, for that matter, that any critical assessment of the picture is vulgar, small, and irrelevant. But that is like being moved by words like love, death, blood, sweat, tears, regardless of how well or ill they are used. It may be harder to use honest cinematic images dishonestly—the truth insists on pushing through—than to use words dishonestly; but nearly every war film proves how actually easy it is, and suggests how hard it would be to use those images honestly, to say nothing of adequately. "Stalingrad" is sensibly and often sensitively edited. But there is hardly a moment in it where the editing—rather than the single shot—even begins to lift a series of images above prose coherence and toward the plain-featured, heroic poetry which might possibly be deserving of the subject. The commentary, meanwhile, almost constantly reduces, or lily-gilds, or angles the power of the images; never does better; occasionally does worse, as in its strange suggestion that it is better for Russians to use flame-throwers on living Germans than for Germans to use them on dead Russians; or in its managing, several times, to make the audience laugh and applaud at the sight of dead, dying, suffering, or humiliated Germans.

Actually, I suppose such films are better assembled and set to words than might be hoped for, so hot after the event; but that does not reduce the fact that they are nearly always inadequate to, and often a dishonoring of, the event, the people recorded, and the people who did the recording. The war camera men themselves, of course, are subject to critical assessment. Varying degrees of judgment, courage, taste, and luck are continuously implied in what they record, and you can see sharp national differences in their styles of eyesight, with the Russians and British generally leading, and the Germans and Americans generally trailing. There is much room for analysis of their work, and for improvement; but I suspect that their several styles are more nearly appropriate to what they are doing than more detached developed judgment could make them. In any case the camera men on both sides of every front are making a record which in proper editorial hands, sooner or later, could be made to yield some of the greatest works of art—or whatever term might have to be substituted—ever known.

It surprises me to find "So Proudly We Hail" confusing many people almost as much. I realize that a good deal of sincerity, emotion, and desire to honor went into it, and I have no desire to laugh at that; but it is impossible to accept the result, except in a kind of fascination. This is probably the most deadly-accurate picture that will ever be made of what war looks like through the lenses of a housewives'-magazine romance. In those terms it is to be recommended. Some reviewers who grant that the story itself is painful feel that the picture is redeemed by the deep sincerity of the players and by the powerful realism of the war scenes. But it seemed to me the most sincere thing Paramount's young women did was to alter their make-up to favor exhaustion (and not too much of it) over prettiness (and not too little of that); and that the bombings of hospitals and the strafings of wounded accurately met their level in the honest matron behind me who kept saying tst-tst-tst. Sonny Tufts, as Miss Goddard's marine, I rather like; but he is making a hit walking rope between mild credibility and the shucks-jeeze brand of ladies'-darlingism, and that rope has just one side to fall on.

"The Adventures of Tartu" disguises British Agent Robert Donat as an oleaginous Rumanian whose business it is to destroy a Nazi poison-gas plant and escape the consequences with Valerie Hobson. It is so easy to enjoy that it is easy to overrate: that is, it gave me nearly as much simple fun as thrillers a dozen times better; but not quite. You are seeing all it has, and bald spots as well, the first time around, whereas with a good Hitchcock or even a good Carol Reed, even the pleasures visible at a first seeing stand up, or intensify, under a third and a fifth; new ones turn up with each seeing, and it is a long time before the whole work wears thin or takes on the staleness of a classic indulged too often.

Very belatedly I want to say that "The Watch on the Rhine" seemed much better on the screen than it did, almost identically, on the stage—though I still wished Henry James might have written it; and that I join with anyone whose opinion of Paul Lukas's performance is superlative. Also that a simple-hearted friendliness generated between audience and screen at "This Is the Army" made that film happy to

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see even when it was otherwise boring; though I am among an apparent minority which feels that Warner Brothers' cuddly-reverential treatment of President Roosevelt—in "Mission to Moscow," "This Is the Army," and the forthcoming "Princess O'Rourke"—is subject to charges certainly of indecent exposure and, quite possibly, of alienation of affections. JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

STRAVINSKY'S elegantly named "Dumbarton Oaks" Concerto (1937-38) for chamber orchestra, which has not yet been performed in New York despite the demands for it (all by Virgil Thomson), was given at one of the summer concerts by members of the Boston Symphony; and I have had a report on it from my Boston correspondent. The concert began with music by Couperin, Purcell, Gibbons, and Handel for viols—the descant and treble viols, the viola da gamba, the violone—played by the Boston Society of Ancient Instruments; and after this "the second half of the program seemed rather a shame. The magical spell woven by the ancient instruments—to which the audience reacted so keenly it scarcely dared breathe—was utterly dispelled. The Stravinsky is a horrid little thing," of which the first movement "seemed like a travesty of the Third Brandenburg Concerto," the second "repeated a trite little figure around the circle of instruments," and the last was "a bad imitation of his first style on a reduced scale, with elements of what he seems to think a concerto grosso style . . . thrown in. The thing is wholly lacking in feeling for style, in unity of mood or expression, in charm, and almost wholly lacking in melody; it is not even good applied scholarship: I don't think Stravinsky has the foggiest notion what a concerto grosso is . . . I think it is without doubt the worst piece of music to have any pretensions that I have heard in several years."

After this came a suite from Paul Bowles's "The Wind Remains," which was given last spring at one of those Serenades at the Museum of Modern Art that should have been called "A la recherche de Paris perdu." Bowles's music, observes my correspondent, is "written in a nondescript modern idiom that is not too disagreeable"; and he finds its most interesting feature to be its scoring: the usual woodwinds in pairs, one each of the usual brass, "one harp, one violin, one double bass, quite a large set of machines for making noises (these took part in the Stravinsky too), and one electrically amplified violin used only for comic effects—which is just as well: the darn thing has a tone that would make cats leap from back fences and go hasting away."

The concert ended with Brahms's Serenade No. 2 for winds and low strings, which is young Brahms in the process of virtuous self-improvement—that is, taking only a modest first step in writing for orchestra, by writing only a Serenade for only part of the orchestra—and being so dull in the process that the work is enough to make *me* leap from the concert hall and go hasting away. My correspondent too remarks that he is "not particularly interested in hearing Brahms learn how to orchestrate for wind instruments. . . . They did not have enough violas when they played this Serenade—the first real error of balance in this series of concerts—but the main interest is in the wind writing. There is too much of it, it is too thick, and it cloys." Not, he adds, that the entire effect of the Serenade is produced by the orchestration alone: "the music is too thick, too gooey, and the orchestration just makes it worse: the constant use of the winds, the constant use of mellow combinations (clarinets, bassoons, and horns, for example), and the doublings are what turn the trick."

The conductor of the second half of the concert was Leonard Bernstein, whom Rodzinski has just appointed assistant conductor of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony. "Mr. Bernstein belongs to the dynamic school of conductors which does not lower itself to beating time. His is the school of the balled fist, the quiver of the upraised arm at the climax; but he can be properly lyrical at the correct moment. The orchestra seemed to tolerate him, and the winds continued to play as they have during the earlier concerts."

This humorous description of the relation between the young conductor and the experienced members of the Boston Symphony embodies an important truth which was stated seriously by someone who was talking to me about the Petrillo controversy. Having described one device for collecting money to compensate the musicians who had been thrown out of work by the machine, he said: "Some of this money could be used to reemploy some of the men—to create symphony orchestras in smaller cities; and these orchestras would provide the necessary experience for American conductors. The great European conductors did not learn their trade by conducting the great European orchestras; Toscanini learned it by working often, in some cities, with orchestras of semi-amateurs, semi-professionals—men who earned their living in some other way and played an instrument when there was an occasion to do so. Put a young American conductor in front of the N. B. C. Symphony, and it will play; but it would play if he were not there. He cannot teach it anything, and he cannot learn anything from it."

Beecham confirms this in his autobiography "A Mingled Chime," which is another of the books I hope to discuss soon. After describing his early experience of conducting the singers, the toneless chorus, and the incompetent orchestra of a touring opera company for a couple of months, he writes: "I have always considered that this rather uninviting initiation into professional life was of the greatest service to me. To be pitch-forked into such a chaotic welter and be forced to make something tangible and workable out of it is incomparably more useful to the young conductor than to take command of a highly trained body of experts, accustomed through long routine to fulfill their respective tasks with ease and celerity. Indeed the youthful or comparatively youthful musician should not be allowed, except on some rare occasion, to conduct an orchestra of the front rank at all, and if he does I am not sure which of the two parties to the transaction suffers the more from it. It is almost impossible that he can teach it anything, and it is more than likely that its accustomed discipline will speedily relax under a leadership that has neither experience nor authority. Further, the unhappy young man will have to decide between the alternatives of assuming an air of omniscience as comical as a child preaching in a cathedral pulpit, or an abnegation of any effort at real direction; either of which will be equally acceptable to that collection of humorists who make up the personnel of nearly every first-class orchestra of the world."

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

The Jews of Europe

Dear Sirs: Let me express my hearty appreciation of the editorial in *The Nation* of September 11 dealing with the American Jewish conference and its resolution on Palestine.

It must not be thought that we Zionists believe that "Jews will not be able to live in Europe after a war fought and won in the name of democracy and racial equality." Any sensible Jew knows that the restoration of civil and human rights to the Jewish communities of Europe is a cardinal objective of every group seeking the amelioration of the Jewish lot. A mass migration, however, from Eastern Europe to Palestine would be of permanent benefit to the Jewish people. The region between Germany and Russia is the perennial battleground of the Teuton and the Slav; it is the cockpit of the world. The sooner Jews distribute themselves elsewhere the better it will be. This does not imply that those who remain in Poland and adjacent territories should not be granted the hard-won rights of a generation ago. Jews will continue to live in Europe, and they must be unmolested. At the same time, however, the upbuilding of Palestine, as your editorial indicates, will bring to Jews who can escape from Europe opportunities which otherwise would be denied them in their lifetime.

The immediate and primary duty of Jews and non-Jews is to furnish asylum for those who survive the Nazi horror. Theoretical considerations are a luxury which should be postponed. When victory over the Axis comes, Jews should be able to take up their life anew in the lands of their birth or adoption. But if multitudes wish to begin again in the Land of Israel, why should they be denied this privilege?

RABBI LOUIS NEWMAN

New York, September 10

In Defense of the FBI

Dear Sirs: In your well-documented articles on the Washington Gestapo your properly anonymous author says (in your issue of July 24) that J. Edgar Hoover is "joined in the Department of Justice by such men as L. M. C. Smith, chief of the War Policies Unit," who is made to appear as "suffering from a 'radical' psychosis."

Intimate contact with the unit since its creation refutes any such conclusion. It has kept a level-headed course in dealing with the thousands of complaints of subversive activities. The record shows no prosecutions whatever of radicals initiated by the unit and only two instances of action recommended to the Post Office Department against radical papers—the Trotskyite *Militant* and the organ of a splinter group in Chicago. On the contrary, the unit under Mr. Smith's direction has been almost exclusively concerned with pro-Axis propaganda. It has no relation whatever to the witch-hunt against federal employees.

You may be sure that the Civil Liberties Union would bear no such witness to a prosecuting agency of the government unless the facts amply warranted it.

ROGER N. BALDWIN

New York, August 25

Another Witness

Dear Sirs: I have been much concerned with the anonymous articles which you ran entitled Washington Gestapo. For close to ten years I have kept a rather close watch on the FBI. I started my scrutiny of FBI behavior because of rumors and gossip and suspicions that basic civil liberties were being violated. I am writing to you to let you know that I have yet to hear of a single proved case of violation of the basic civil liberties. This is close to a miracle. Out of 100,000 cases there has been only one complaint of an abuse that, in the city of New York at least, we take for granted, namely, holding people incomunicado, third degree, etc. The position of Edgar Hoover and his men with respect to wire-tapping sets a new high standard for the constabulary of the United States.

I am writing because I feel that a great injustice has been done by the author of Washington Gestapo and in consequence by *The Nation*. As a specific example of what I have in mind, I refer to your issue of July 17, where there was listed a half-dozen or so "snooper" questions. I think it was evil of the author to list such a series of questions relating to an applicant's religious and trade-union attitudes in the form of an indiscriminate block-booking indictment. In effect your secret correspondent declared that the Civil Service Commission *and* the FBI asked a list of such questions. This is about as unfair as if someone wrote an article and said that *The Nation* and Henry Luce "took the following positions," and then failed to specify which positions were taken by you and which by Henry Luce.

You say that *The Nation* checked this information. I wonder, in all fairness, whether it is not your duty to say which of the questions were attributed, even by your anonymous correspondent, to the FBI and which to the Civil Service Commission.

The FBI is not perfect, nor is *The Nation*. But in every case in which I have brought a complaint involving matters of this nature to Edgar Hoover, the complainant and myself have felt that we received sympathetic understanding and proper administrative treatment of the situation.

I have been a pest to the FBI in picking them up on every possible complaint which has come to me. In the course of time these have run to a considerable number. I believe its protection of personal liberty is one of the outstanding contributions to the cause of civil liberties in my time in the United States.

MORRIS L. ERNST

New York, August 26

[*An answer by Mr. Stone to Messrs. Baldwin and Ernst as well as to other critics of the articles by X X X will be found on page 342.*]

Setting Things Straight

Dear Sirs: Mr. Rosenberger has me wrong. In my reference to "the shallow ponds of the American provinces" no generalization was intended; only allusion to the fact that, if same existed, Mr. Moult would be apt to find them good fishing. Nor should I like any reader to infer that I think all magazines published outside New York are provincial, or that all magazines published in New York are not. But I do think some of the sources from which Mr. Moult took his material are pretty fishy. Also shallow. As to the magazine *Fantasy* (Pittsburgh), Mr. Rosenberger might have added in praise that its interest in American poetry did not confine itself to the Northern Hemisphere.

Moreover, I might mention the fact that I know that not only good poetry

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but also good book-reviewing appears in what New Yorkers, parochially maybe, think of as out-of-town periodicals and journals.

That was a beautiful howler Mr. Gustafson caught me in, about my not knowing Raymond Knister had been dead eleven years. The little harm this boner has done to my vanity will be soothed if anybody will take the trouble to look up something about Mr. Knister's life and work; relevant information may be found in the anthology of Canadian poetry edited by Mr. Gustafson and published last year, I believe, by the Penguin Press.

It is cheering to know that people do read reviews about books of poetry.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

New York, September 7

Education for Living

Dear Sirs: As a temporary guest in your country I should like to compliment your correspondent Reinhold Niebuhr on the fairly objective view he presents of the education of H. M. forces in Great Britain.

I use the phrase "fairly objective" because his article does less than justice to the Workers' Educational Association. As general secretary of this organization and as the person who drafted and initiated the original scheme for army education, I feel bound to call attention to an omission which is probably not Dr. Niebuhr's fault. While he had first-hand experience of the work which was being done, he probably received his information about the contributing bodies from one of the many new entrants to this service who know little about the foundations which were laid by the W. E. A. and the traditions upon which the adult-education movement in Great Britain has been built.

I have just finished a tour of the United States from New York to the West Coast, and everywhere I have found immense enthusiasm for the kind of movement we have in Great Britain, a movement in which labor and learning —the trade unions and the universities—cooperate. The former organize the demand for the kind of education which will provide a background of citizenship in a democracy, and the latter, in conjunction with the W. E. A., supply this demand. Our aim is an education for living, not for earning a living; an education in those sociological and cultural subjects about which labor must acquire knowledge if it is to produce leaders and followers who have any sense of social responsibility.

The connection between this movement and education in the army is that the men who give the W. E. A. classes gave and still give their services to the army-education scheme. In addition, the army uses some university teachers, but without the assistance of the tutors employed by the W. E. A. the army scheme could never have been started. What is more, it was these tutors, with their long years of experience in maintaining freedom of discussion in the classroom, who won the struggle against those who were not too eager to encourage the soldier to think for himself. In fact, the greatest achievement of the army-education scheme is not by any means the 30,000 lectures which are being given each month. It is rather the fact that the scheme has won over the service departments to the need for providing compulsory citizenship education as part of army training. Three hours each week are set aside for this purpose, the army authorities issuing study pamphlets dealing with political, economic, and social problems, and the universities and the W. E. A. providing assistance in finding study-group leaders.

What the W. E. A. has done for the army it has done also for civil-defense workers, the women's land army, and munition hostels. For these sections of the community hundreds of classes were being provided by the W. E. A. when I left Great Britain in June.

Finally, may I mention that it was the W. E. A. which first suggested and later organized and administered a postal-correspondence-course scheme in cooperation with the War Office and various colleges, including Ruskin College, Oxford. Thousands of correspondence courses are being supplied each year.

I think Dr. Niebuhr did not mention that the regional committees for army education offer the same facilities to the American forces in Britain. Unfortunately there has not been any appreciable response, and I wonder to what extent this is due to the fact that there has been no strongly organized, coordinated, voluntary adult-education movement in the American labor movement. I do not mean that there is no adult education in the United States, but what there is seems to lack a definite social purpose, which perhaps accounts for the popularity of vocational subjects in contrast to the humanities.

Nevertheless, I am sure from my experience of the last few weeks that there is in the States a profound recognition of the importance of education for social service and responsibility and that it needs only to be canalized in some way.

ERNEST GREEN

New York, August 22

I Remember Spain

Dear Sirs: I want to congratulate you on your article Rehearsal in Sicily which appeared in the July 17 issue of *The Nation.* The political considerations you state in this article are very wise and opportune. I too think that these truths that you point out should be self-evident.

Thinking of the present political problems of the world and of those problems that will arise when the war is over, I remember Spain. The other night I saw at the post theater a short feature on Spain and Franco's regime. The film depicted Franco's militaristic government, its political prisons, and other anachronisms. The scenes I saw made me angry. A United Nations victory in this war will never be complete so long as Franco and his fascist government stay in power.

I am a Puerto Rican of Spanish descent, and I am a member of the armed forces of the United States. I know that I am on the right side in this war. I hope very much that we win the right peace.

LIEUTENANT

New Orleans, September 4

CONTRIBUTORS

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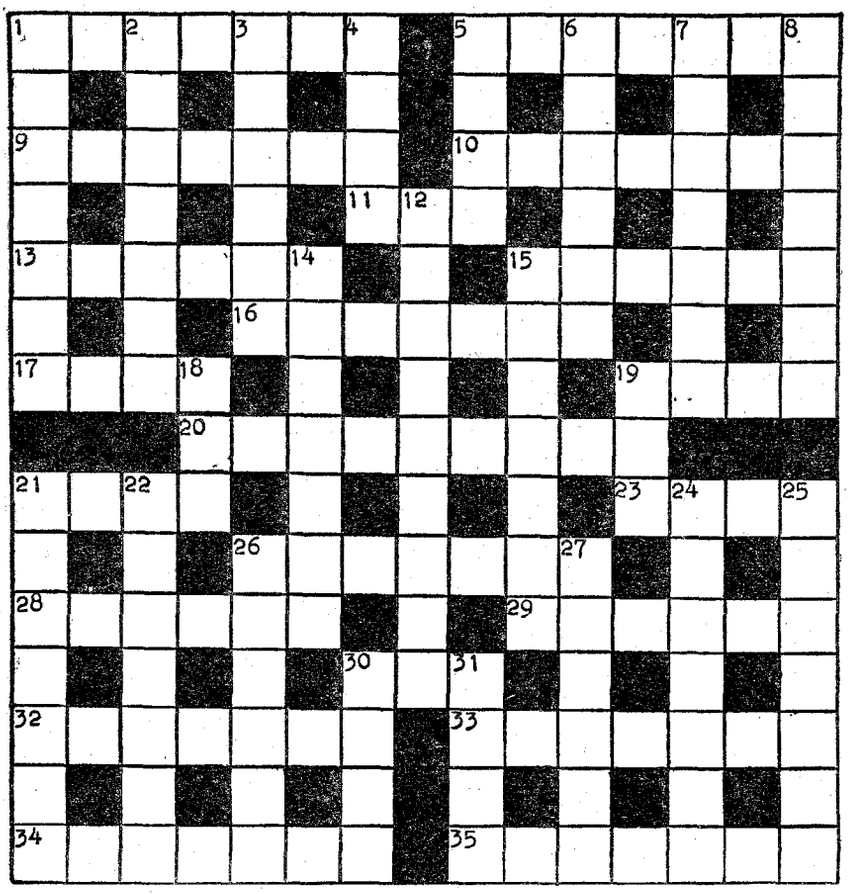
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 31

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Winner of the Camptown Races
5 Contained the suitors' fate in The Merchant of Venice
9 I sail on (anag.)
10 Offensive to the olfactory organ
11 Opposite to fast
13 Stick fast in this place
15 Extremely nice
16 "Fair - - - - - - - - man's imperial race insnare, And beauty draws us with a single hair" (Pope)
17 What smells most in a drugstore?
19 Responsible for many a storm in a teacup
20 The back stove put in a different place
21 It may come to us via the grapevine route
23 Has teeth but cannot bite
26 Do polite bushmen call them Williams?
28 Sounds a barbaric order of architecture
29 "Look'd at each other with a wild surmise, - - - - - -, upon a peak in Darien" (Keats)
30 Who can turn a tank into the Pope's residence? I can
32 Ornamental, and useful, flower
33 Providence is always on the side of the last one, Napoleon said
34 Quicken the pace (two words, 5 and 2)
35 Donkey's years? One of them, perhaps

DOWN

1 One thing that is bigger in Britain than in America
2 In a memorable speech Winston Churchill spoke of defending them
3 Roasts (anag.)
4 "Straight down the crooked - - - -, And all around the square" (A Plain Direction)
5 One coin or a hundred
6 Wooden legs
7 A sufferer from I-strain?
8 Apparition that inspires respect
12 World's largest island before Australia was discovered
14 A matter of seeing Eric about a deserter
15 The audience at these performances is usually entranced
18 The end of 13
19 Half a second, I'm dry!
21 A humorist with broken legs is no great shakes
22 Is this celebrity incompetent?
24 Hamelin was by rats in the fable
25 Unsmokable part of a cigar (hyphen, 4 and 3)
26 Sick in bed, yet advertised to appear!
27 An old Spanish custom
30 The part of Cinderella's slipper the Prince didn't take to
31 It might have been described as a one-horse town

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 30

ACROSS:—1 INITIATE; 6 PATE; 10 LUCRE; 11 TEA; 12 TROLL; 13 AIRMAN; 16 TOM-TOM; 17 PASSION; 18 PATH; 20 SEAT; 22 DISMISS; 23 EFTS; 24 COGS; 25 LEVERET; 27 SALVOS; 29 SHERRY; 34 NIGHT; 35 AGA; 36 REVEL; 37 TROD; 38 TINCTURE.

DOWN:—2 NICER; 3 TOE-CAP; 4 ACTS; 5 EDAM; 6 PYTHON; 7 TROUT; 8 ULNA; 9 CLEMATIS; 14 NATIVES; 15 ISHMAEL; 16 TOUSLES; 18 PLEASANT; 19 TOT; 21 EGO; 25 LOOTED; 26 THIRST; 28 LAGER; 30 RIVER; 31 YALE; 32 EAST; 33 DAWN.

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War's End and After: An Informal Discussion of the Problems of a Post-War World. By Stuart Chevalier. Macmillan. $2.75.
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